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**EXPLORING THE IMPACT OF THE GLORY AND DISMAY
FOOTBALL LITERACIES PROGRAMME ON HARD-TO-
REACH ADULT LEARNERS**

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DOCTORATE OF EDUCATION (EDD)**

30TH APRIL 2010

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Date of Award: 2 August 2010*

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Abstract

This thesis aims to contribute to the field of New Literacy Studies by giving voice to the experience of learners involved in a situated pedagogy, namely the Glory and Dismay Football Literacy Programme (GDFLP). This programme evinces the view that reluctant adult learners will engage in literacy learning programmes if such programmes have a direct bearing on learners' interests, concerns and lives. The thesis describes the nature of the specific GDFLP programme and explores the impact of this programme on learners' lives and literacy practices. As the coordinator and a tutor on the GDFLP, this thesis also reflects some of the complexity I experienced in managing a combined teacher and academic researcher positioning.

My key research question is 'what are the learners' experiences of the GDFLP?', underpinned by a set of sub questions including one which is at the centre of much debate around literacy teaching, that is, 'what is the impact of the GDFLP on adult learners' functional and critical literacy acquisition?' To answer these research questions I adopt a qualitative case study approach. Primary data includes semi-structured interviews and participant observations recorded over a period of 12 weeks. Secondary data includes existing material generated by the GDFLP. The key findings presented in the thesis are in the form of six case studies at the centre of which are learners' narratives about their learning and literacy experiences and which are complemented by understandings drawn from my participant observations and engagement with academic literature. The representational aim is to 'give voice' to the learners' educational and literacy journey, particularly their engagement with the GDFLP. I draw on critical discourse analysis, literacy studies and some aspects of narrative analysis and sociolinguistics.

The case study approach provides a framework to explore how learners are subjected to a discursive formation that suffuses working-class Scottish football culture. This thesis explores how learners are made 'subjects', investigating how learners 'partially consent' to the interests of others with much more power. As an educator working for Community Learning and Development, City of Edinburgh Council with the Adult Learning Project (ALP) in Edinburgh, influenced by Paulo Freire, I examine how critical literacy pedagogy, enacted in the GDFLP, seeks to and succeeds in addressing such inequities. This thesis is motivated by a desire to do something about the structural inequalities to which the learners are subjected and to provide academic evidence for the social practice approach to adult literacy teaching currently advocated by the Scottish Government.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research Focus

The Glory and Dismay Football Literacy Programme (GDFLP) is an open adult literacy class based in Football Stadiums in Edinburgh. It has attracted more learners than any other literacy group in the City and has continued to develop an identity, warmth, exuberance and dynamism. From the outset of this programme, what was apparent was the amount of knowledge each learner had amassed about football; our job, as literacy educators, was to encourage participants to use this detailed knowledge about football as a resource and context for their literacy learning. As co-ordinator of the programme and one of the tutors, I was keen to more formally explore the impact of the programme on 'hard-to-reach' adult learners and to look at ways of describing their experiences of the Glory and Dismay Football Literacy Programme. That is what this thesis is about.

The focus of my study therefore is on the impact of the GDFLP on hard-to-reach adult learners. The focus attends to the social practice approach of the Scottish Government in adult literacy learning and draws upon the work of the influential Brazilian adult educator Paulo Freire. The GDFLP is a project funded by the City (of Edinburgh), Literacy and Numeracy Project (CLAN) and organised by the Adult Learning Project (Kirkwood & Kirkwood 1989; Reeves 2005) in Edinburgh. The Adult Learning Project (ALP) was set up 30 years ago in an attempt to apply Freire's work in a Scottish urban community setting. The ALP project has had recognised success (Galloway 1999) in creating a broad dialogical curriculum in literacy and cultural studies.

My study, nevertheless, acknowledges the important critiques of Freire's approach. These criticisms summon a more situated theory of oppression and subjectivity and call for the need to consider the contradictions inherent in, what they perceive as, Freire's universal claims of truth or process (Weiler 1995; Bartlett 2009).

This thesis begins to articulate and synthesise my prior community development experience using a critical literacy perspective. I was aware, for example, that in other literacy groups I helped to organise for the City of Edinburgh Council (CEC) much of the pedagogic practice was well meaning but appeared de-contextualised and individuated. I wanted to explore how a programme such as the GDFLP might be contributing to critical as well as functional literacy development.

My previous research experience had been limited to a few small-scale survey type initiatives¹, which were used as campaigning materials. My subsequent academic career at the Open University, Heriot Watt, and Edinburgh Universities entailed a research component both in quantitative and qualitative methodologies, which offered me more ways into researching learners' experiences of literacy education and programmes. The research on which this thesis is based uses a predominantly qualitative research methodology and centres on case studies of six adult learners who have taken part in the GDFLP.

1 A Report of the Pilot Study of Well Being and Related Matters Among Former British Rail Engineering Employees with Anderson S, Dyce G, Kelly M, and McFadyen J (1989) Community Projects Foundation (Glasgow).

Pilot Research into Low Pay and other Related Matters in the Western General Hospital, Edinburgh (1992) Edinburgh Employment Rights Campaign.

1.2 Background to the Research

My research is about exploring the impact on hard-to-reach adults of a literacy programme, which uses football as a carrot to attract them to literacy education.

Before coordinating the GDFLP, I had known anecdotally of the existence of two football based educational programmes and that these had had a positive impact on adult and children's literacy acquisition. The first was a literacies programme with adults carried out by Platform Adult Learning Centre, Wester Hailes, Edinburgh in the 1990s. The idea was that to attract adults from Occupational Social Class 4 / 5 between the ages of 18 - 35 / 40, the subject of football might be of particular interest. To attract adult students in Wester Hailes, Platform Adult Learning Centre arranged, with the Scottish Football Association (SFA) for 20 - 30 tickets to be made available free of charge. Once learners were recruited, the aim was for them to discuss the issues relating to Scottish Football and, from the generative themes and issues that arose from these discussions, a curriculum was devised which would address and enhance their writing and reading skills both in Scots and in Standard English.

The second initiative I had heard about was through a study visit I took part in organised by ALP to Newcastle in early 2004. The aim was for us, as an adult education project, to explore the urban geography of the City and engage in a cross-cultural city event involving music, poetry and story telling. It also included a visit to Sunderland Refugee and Asylum Seekers Centre and, while there, a visit to the Stadium of Light, the home ground of Sunderland F.C. While at the stadium, we visited a learning centre, which doubled up as a bar for visiting players and commentators at the weekend.

The learning centre's focus was either schoolchildren, who were excluded or truanting from school. The 'razzmatazz' of the stadium and the buzz of football ensured that school students turned up to the centre for lessons.

When we got back to Edinburgh, I took this idea, though slightly changed to an adult learning perspective, to Alan White, Community Coach at Heart of Midlothian Football Club (F.C), which was just a few streets away from the ALP office. Alan White said he was very interested and offered us their function room, the Willie Bauld Suite, in the Stadium. We then applied to the City, Literacy and Numeracy Project (CLAN) for a Challenge Fund grant. CLAN had been set up in response to the Adult Literacy and Numeracy in Scotland report (ALNIS) (2001) which had established that those struggling with literacy difficulties in Scotland were from occupational social class 4 / 5; from poorer geographical communities; had health problems; or were from minority ethnic communities.

For me personally, after having completed my Adult Basic Education (ABE) training and securing a Community Based Adult Learning (CBAL) post at the Adult Learning Project (ALP) in Edinburgh, I was intrigued by the continual references in adult literacy education to Freirian concepts such as 'decodification²', 'dialogical methodology' and 'praxis'. The use of 'decodification' in ALP was written up by Kirkwood and Kirkwood (1989), who referred to ALP's experiences of trying out such methods within adult literacy work. However, the fusion of a skills-based literacy education and 'decodification' of oppressive structures was not evident to me.

The idea of cracking the code of language in order to encode the world through an 'unveiling education' ensnared me.

² Decodification refers to a process of description and ideological interpretation, whether of printed words, pictures or other 'codifications'. As such, decodification and decodifying are distinct from the process of decoding, or word-recognition. Freire (1970:31).

Cracking the code of *langue* and the 'deeper structure' of ideology through an engagement with *parole* or vernacular of Urban Scots is a personal and on-going research 'generative theme'.

Experientially, I was aware that the decoding process enlivened adult students and through observations in literacy groups, I was convinced of its merits. Part of my research journey has been to further reflect on learners' decoding practices and to look in detail at learners' experiences and consider the extent to which the GDFLP has made a difference to their literacy learning.

1.3 Thesis Organisation

The thesis is organised into six chapters.

Chapter 1, *Introduction*, briefly outlines the genesis of the project, introduces the researcher and describes the setting for the research investigation.

Chapter 2, *The Context and Focus of the Study: The Glory and Dismay Football Programme* sets out the context of the programme and explores some of the theoretical perspectives that inform the study. I describe the policy context within which the programme operates and discuss the pedagogical issues that are related to the programme such as those derived from the theoretical legacy left by Paulo Freire. It investigates perspectives seeking to explain how learners are positioned by and in discourse and how human beings are made subjects of the 'Spectacle'.

Moreover, this chapter begins to theorise how learners partially consent to the interests of those with much more power in society and globally, and touches upon considerations such as the impact upon learners of being subjected to alternative discourses.

By “alternative discourses”, I mean the sets of anti-racist and anti-sexist positions and statements that the adult learners experienced while undertaking an educational exchange to Hamburg to watch St Pauli F.C.

This chapter introduces the theoretical perspectives which underpin my study and the thesis overall.

Chapter 3, *Researching the Perspectives of Adult Literacy Learners* explores the existing literature on ‘non-academic’ outcomes in adult learning. ‘Non-academic’ here refers to indicators such as ‘self-confidence’. This chapter draws upon the work of writers such as Malicky (1997) to draw out the existing research on learners’ experiences of literacy programmes and their self-perceptions. Moreover, it refers to research on community-based literacy programmes and a number of key issues including; the internalisation of dominant discourses; the proposition that a critical literacy approach needs to begin with learners’ narratives; research ‘outside the classroom’ using social practice approaches; critical and functional literacy. The chapter foregrounds the importance of Fingeret’s research and examines the competing models of literacy education in Scotland and England.

Chapter 4, *Methodology and Initial Findings*, uses the idea of a ‘natural history’ of my research to explain and justify my qualitative approach. This chapter details my initial research questions and pilot study, and explains my use of Critical Discourse Analysis in refining and re-ordering these research questions.

It explains my data collection method, such as semi-structured interviews, participatory observations, Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) accreditation, and the decision as to whether or not to use skills-based literacy testing.

Further, this chapter discusses unexpected issues arising from carrying out the main interviews; research ethics and transcription and representation, especially in relation to transcribing Scots. This chapter outlines how the findings in Chapter 5 are presented using mixed-genres of narrative and meta-commentary drawn from data sources alongside academic research and literature.

This chapter draws upon the disciplinary areas of narrative inquiry and sociolinguistics to accord academic authority to the eloquence of learners' story-telling ability.

In Chapter 5, *Learners' Voices*, the narratives of adult learners are given centre stage. This chapter aims to offer a rich portrait of learners' lives, which captures the eloquence, rhythm, humour, poetry, and joy that surrounds their utterances. It sets out six case studies, which centre on a series of narratives and meta-commentary combining extracts from a range of research data and academic literature.

The themes touched upon include using the conduit of football discourses to describe contemporary Scottish working-class culture; football as both a form of population control and celebratory aspect in learners' lives; the notion of dominant discourses and their internalisation; the Freirian concept of 'speaking your word' as the first step in becoming literate; the problems of undiagnosed learning difficulties; the failure of the national curriculum to be situated in the lives of the local community; and the extent to which the GDFLP has assisted in learners' literacy acquisition.

The final chapter, *Discussion and Conclusion* (Chapter 6), outlines the extent to which the research answers the revised research questions and locates the answers within a similarly revised theoretical framework. This chapter also summarises the limitations of the study and summarise the key implications for practice arising from the research.

Chapter 2: The Context and Focus of the Study: The Glory and Dismay Football Literacy Programme

"In a small function suite deep within the bowels of Hearts football club's Tynecastle stadium in Edinburgh, a group of men and women are talking football.

"Did you see Nakamura? What a goal!"

"I know. World class."

"It's the sort of thing Beckham would have done."

"Just a wee bit of luck, that's what you need."

"Well chuffed, I was, well chuffed."

What has sparked the group off is a 30-yard belter of a free kick from one of Celtic's best players. But over the next hour, the group will get exercised about many different aspects of the beautiful game: transfer fees, redundancies and the old days when players were paid little more than a tradesman's wage.

The banter back and forth with tonight's guest speaker, the former Hibs and Celtic great Jackie McNamara, is wide-ranging, informed, and good-natured. It also has a purpose. Once the talking has stopped, the group splits up and clusters around laptops, and they start to write.

The Glory and Dismay initiative is an adult learning scheme that uses football to encourage literacy and numeracy. It has proved so successful that organisers are looking to expand it to other clubs and other sports, including boxing."

Kirsty Scott³

Tuesday December 12 2006

The Guardian

2.1 Introduction

An overall aim behind Chapter 2 is to offer a critical overview of the background to my research into the impact of the GDFLP on hard-to reach-adult learners and a coherent theoretical framework to the thesis. In this Chapter, I intend to lay out the background to the Glory and Dismay Football Literacies Programme (GDFLP) and describe the project in some detail. I will then sketch out the policy context in which the programme is operating; and discuss the pedagogical issues that are related to the programme.

Some of these issues will consist of evaluating the impact upon learners of being subjected to alternative discourses, such as those the adult learners experienced while undertaking the cultural and educational exchange to Hamburg to watch St Pauli F.C.

Offering a detailed description and theoretical rationale for the programme is important for understanding the context from which the research questions, which are discussed in Chapter 4, have arisen.

2.2 About the Glory and Dismay Programme

The GDFLP is a partnership between the Adult Learning Project (ALP) Association, Heart of Midlothian Football Club, City of Edinburgh Council (CEC) Community Based Adult Learning (CBAL) Team and CLAN (City Literacy and Numeracy) project.

³ Kirsty Scott, Guardian Reporter, having heard about the Glory and Dismay Football Literacies Project from potential funders, came along to one of the classes to make a report for the Guardian's Education Weekly

The purpose of the initiative is to attract hard-to-reach learners who are keen to improve their reading and writing skills. The GDFLP uses a learner centred approach (for example, Gebre, Rogers, Street & Openjuru 2009) which builds on social practice model of literacy (details of which are discussed in section 3.6) ; that is, a teaching that builds upon learners' strengths, especially in this case, learners' detailed knowledge of the 'beautiful game', football (Figure 2.1).

The social practice model has been a 'Freirian' feature of the ALP for 25 years. What I would like to focus on here are the 'Freirian' notions of 'unveiling' education (Freire & Shor 1987: 38), of 'decoding' culture, of 'praxis' (Freire 1972: 77). I also want to discuss the Situationist International's (S.I.) ideas of the 'Spectacle (Debord 1967)', the 'colonization of everyday life' as forms of population management, and a new politics of 'internal' technologised social control ('Retort' 2004: 06).

To 'kick-off' I shall quickly explore current policy developments, look at the programme's development, and then examine some of the theoretical perspectives I've found useful to underpin such a social contextual approach to critical literacy practice.

Figure 2.1 - GDFLP Discuss the Beautiful Game (comic art entry into GDFLP Fanzine⁴)



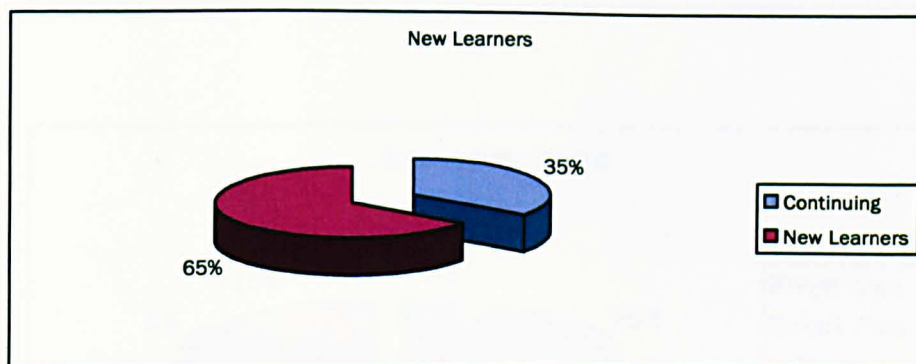
4 Scottish Book Trust, Learning Connections & the Scottish Government (2009) Glory and Dismay; Our Story of Football Coupur Angus, Wm Culross and Son



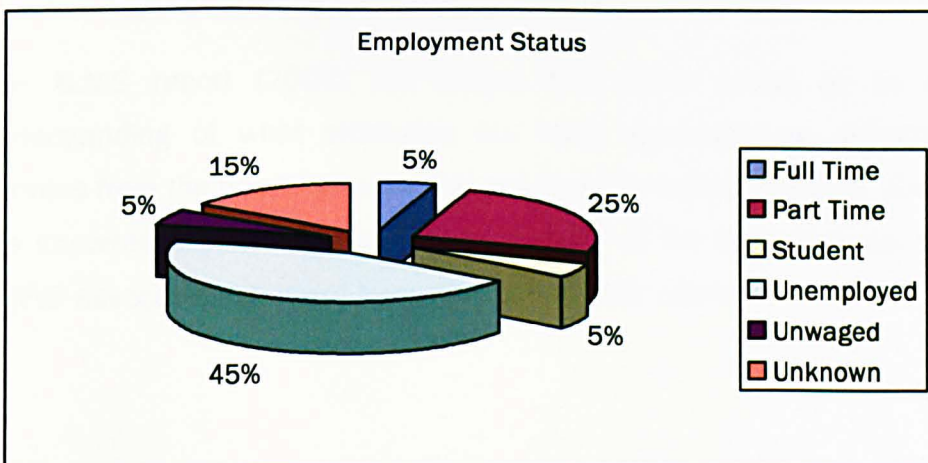
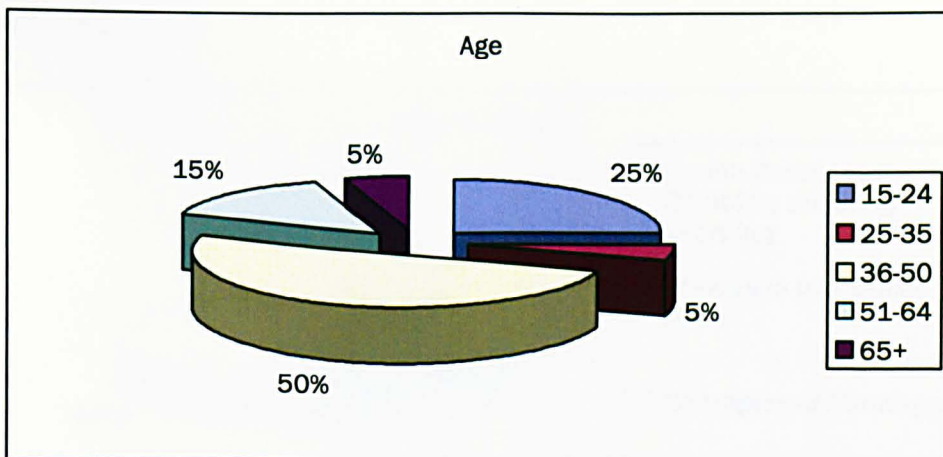
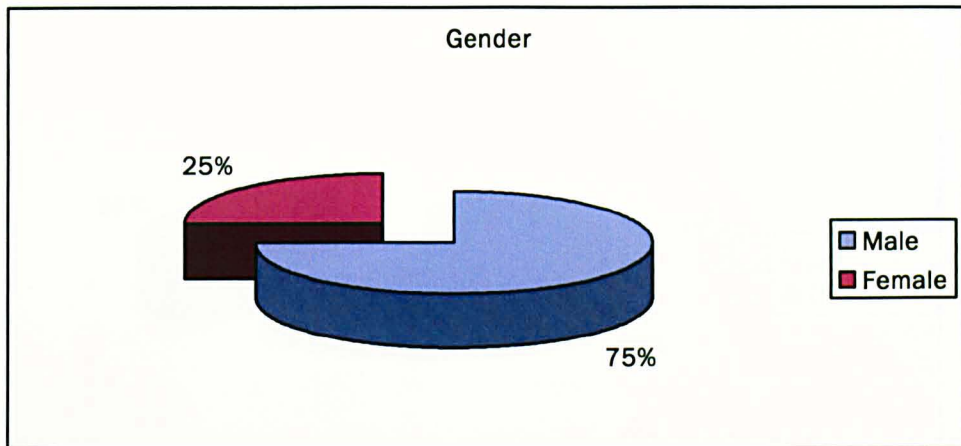
2.3 Policy Context

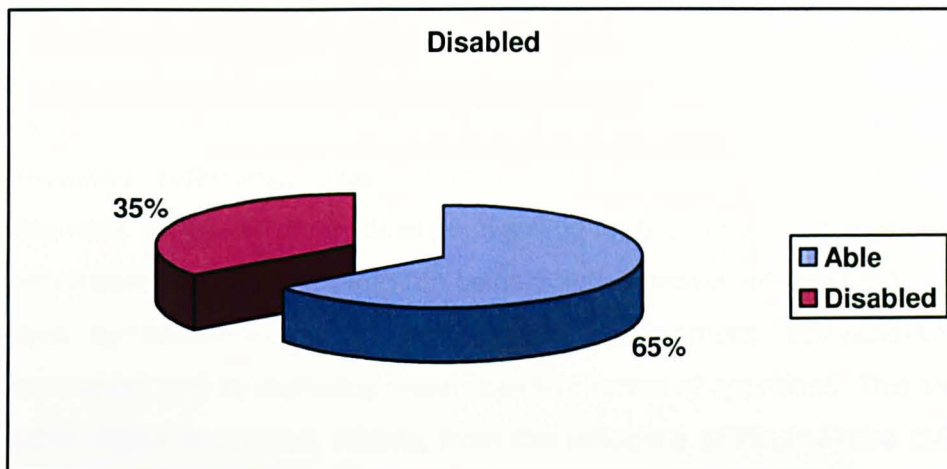
The GDFLP is in part a response to the Scottish Executive's (2001 a) Adult Literacy and Numeracy in Scotland (ALNIS) (2001: 1) report, which highlights the need to target priority groups. The evidence, the report suggests, is that a high proportion of those with low levels of literacy and numeracy are to be found among people who live in disadvantaged areas; workers in low skill jobs; people on low incomes, and people with health problems and disabilities. The GDFLP has recruited 50 learners over a period of 5 years, with 20 adults on average attending classes at any one time. These classes take place in Edinburgh at Heart of Midlothian Football Stadium at Tynecastle; Hibernian Football Club at Easter Road; and at Spartans Football Academy at Ainslie Park. The learners are all from occupational social class 5 and the demographic profiles of the 20 learners on the most recently available database are described in Figure 2.2

Figure 2.2 - Examples of Demographic Profiles of GDFLP Participants, Jan – March 2009 Database

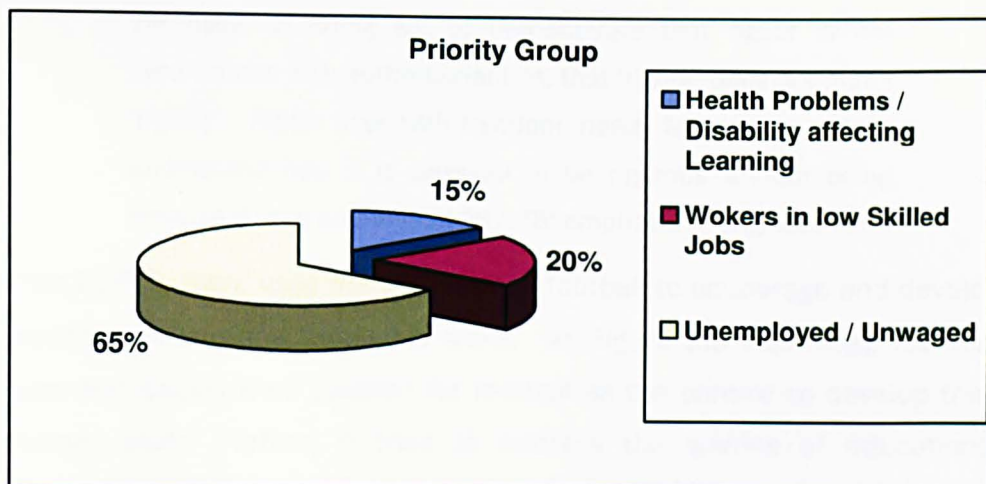


Continuing = learners who have participated in the Programme before Jan 2009.





* By 'Disabled' reference is made to adult learners with a physical or learning disability.



The ALNIS report (2001: 12) insists that there needs to be an understanding of what strategies are most successful in attracting learners from the priority groups, and use these to attract learners. Given the importance of football to a large number of the priority group, the GDFLP advocates the use of football as a potential 'carrot'.

At the same time, both the ALNIS (2001 a) and HM Inspectorate of Education (HMIe) (2005: 10) reports are adamant that we both recognise and accredit individual progress and that projects such as the GDFLP, measure sufficiently those literacy and numeracy skills required for learners to attain their desired learning outcomes. The GDFLP has attempted to do this through the celebratory approach inherent in the ALP, and by endeavouring to apply 'rigour' to learners' self-assessment processes and by exploring more objective forms of appraisal. This stress upon rigour is derived, mainly, from the influence of Paulo Freire (1987: 77) who, while, highly critical of the 'standard transfer curriculum' and the 'banking' concept of education was emphatic about the need for 'rigour' in education, with the caveat that:

We have, in doing so, to demonstrate that rigour is not synonymous with authoritarianism, that 'rigour' does not mean 'rigidity'. Rigour *lives* with freedom, *needs* freedom. I cannot understand how it is possible to be rigorous without being creative (Freire and Shor, 1987:78: emphasis in original).

The GDFLP, then, uses the language of football to encourage and develop reading, writing and numeracy skills. As Figure 2.3 illustrates, learners use and display their passion for football as the context to develop their writing skills. Further, it tries to address the worries of educational providers relating to the absence of working class men from post-compulsory education and training (McGivney, 1999) by developing literacy / numeracy skills through individual learner's stories of football in Edinburgh.

This follows Giulianotti (1999) who argues that football provides a kind of cultural map, or metaphorical representation, which enhances understanding of society.

The ability to articulate and pontificate about football's own tempo, own evolutionary laws, its crises, and its specific chronology is a common and active facet of cultural life amongst the hard-to-reach adults identified by the Scottish Executive (2001 a).

Finally, the aim of the GDFLP is to problematise the issues of Scottish Football from the generative themes and issues that arise from a dialogical educational approach. I am using 'generative themes' (Freire, 1972: 69) to refer to cultural or political topics of concern or importance to adult learners in the GDFLP. One generative theme that has clearly arisen is that of 'winning football back to the people' (Stanistreet 2005) and is reflected in some of the discussions that take place in the GDFLP and illustrated in some of the case studies in Chapter 5.

Figure 2.3 - Example of GDFLP Participants' Writing Skills using the Language of Football

THIS IS THE STORY OF MY TATTOOS

The first tattoo I ever got was a tiger. The next one was of a panther. My other tattoos include other animals and football related.

The first football tattoo was when the Jambos won the Scottish Cup in 1998 when they beat Gers 2-1, with a penalty scored by Colin Cameron. The second goal was by a Frenchman called Stephan Adam. Then Rangers scored their goal and the game ended.

Hearts picked up the cup, came back to Edinburgh, paraded the cup around along Dalry Rd, then Gorgie Rd, and finished up at Tynecastle Park.

Tam Jackson (GDFLP Participant) (Scottish Book Trust et al 2009)



2.4 Programme Development

The Programme is currently running in a series of stages. The first stage (May 2004 - Feb 2005) employed a trained project development / literacy and numeracy worker, and her remit was to recruit new learners using recognised issue-based community development processes, such as networking and partnership approaches.

Considerable development time in the initial CLAN Challenge Fund award was allotted to securing the venue in Tynecastle Stadium; enlisting the support of professional footballers and commentators; establishing a city wide advisory group to assist with promotion of the programme and curriculum development; organising celebratory learning experiences; and attracting 20 new learners and volunteer tutor assistants (all from poorer geographical areas identified by the Scottish Executive, 2001) to an overall cohort of 50 learners registered on GDFLP database with 20 learners, on average, attending any one class.

The course concluded with the production of learners written 'Stories of Football in Edinburgh'.

The second stage (September 2005 - December 2006) attempted to advance the literacy and numeracy skills of the cohort who attended the first course in 2004 at Tynecastle Football Stadium. The learners more directly embraced the idea of 'individual learning plans' where learners had to outline what they hoped to achieve in their literacy learning and 'progress files', which were used to help learners self-evaluate their learning achievements.

This was achieved by both developing strategies that support learners to become effective readers, writers, listeners, and group participants, and by encouraging everyday literacies – i.e. basing activities on real life practices rather than artificial experiences. The GDFLP was also trying to develop a critical approach to such experiences (for example see Case Studies: 5.2 Steven James and 5.3 Alan Murray Johnston in Chapter 5).

The third stage (March 2007 – December 2007) utilised the contacts made within the professional and amateur football community to begin to develop the same initial 12-week course in Easter Road, home of Hibernian Football Club.

The rationale for this was that some young men, in particular, those from the poorer areas in the city, such as Craigmillar, Bingham, Granton, and North Leith, suffer from the legacy of sectarian and tribal divisions, usually associated with the West of Scotland, and are unwilling to attend a literacy and numeracy course at the rival Heart of Midlothian football ground.

The issue of Edinburgh having its disturbing religious sectarian⁵ history (Devine, T. M., 2000), forms part of the wider curriculum of the GDFLP, an issue illustrated in the case studies in Chapter 5. A long-term objective of the GDFLP may be to bring both sides of the cultural divide together.

The GDFLP has established an extensive learner recruitment network partly via the formation of the 'ALP Football Advisory' group. This advisory group is made up of learners, football commentators and ex-football players, is a sub group of the Adult Learning Project (Association) and brings football literacy learners into the 'democratic learning community' (Stanistreet, 2005) of ALP. The Adult Learning Project (ALP) Association is a context for learning where participants take greater control over their learning by joining other learners in organising, promoting and deciding upon adult education provision in the City of Edinburgh.

2.5 A Social Practice Perspective on Learning and Literacy

Freire is clear that praxis can be defined as the action and reflection of people upon their world in order to transform it (Heaney 1995: 11).

Freire's concept of praxis is vital both for the ALP and for the Scottish Executive's contemporary use of a social practice account of literacy and numeracy. The Scottish Executive (2005: 13) suggests that 'Reading and writing are complex cognitive activities that also depend on a great deal of contextual (i.e. social) knowledge and intention.'

⁵ In Scotland (where Calvinism and Presbyterianism are the norm) sectarian divisions can still sometimes arise between Catholics and Protestants.

For example, someone reading and making sense of the newspaper is not just decoding words, but also using knowledge of the conventions of newspaper writing, of the local / national focus, and the political and philosophical orientation of the newspaper. In fact, they are reading between the lines.

This critical literacy's approach advocated by the Scottish Executive demands 'praxis' in order to 'decode', to 'unveil' the 'deeper structure' (Freire 1970: 31) is part of the wider context of the GDFLP. I would suggest that the discourse analysis method (Section 4.5), which suffuses Freire's work, coupled with the Situationist International's hypotheses mentioned below, might help us grasp the logic and construction of mass football culture in the present age and its significance to adults and their potential for learning to deconstruct it. For example, in my conclusions in Section 5.7, I refer to Steven James's recognition of football as a "form of population control."

2.6 Theoretical Insights underpinning the Critical Pedagogy of the Programme

The Situationist International's notion of the 'Spectacle' was introduced to the ALP by Colin Kirkwood (ALP, 2002: 02), where, prophetically, he remarked:

In the 1960s there was an intellectual movement called Situationism. One of its key concepts was 'the spectacle'.

As a result of the antics of the Baader-Meinhof gang, the Red Brigades, and other ultra left wing phenomena, a sensible analysis of the development of the spectacle as a means of population management did not develop as it might have done. We need to return to the concept of the spectacle as an explanatory idea and develop around it not merely an analysis of society but also a strategy for liberation.

Modern professional football, I argue, is a powerful mechanism, a 'spectacle', for managing populations. The concepts and descriptions put forward forty years ago by Guy Debord and the Situationist International (S.I.), established in 1957 (Barnard, 2004), provide, I think, the explanatory insights to understand football as a spectacle which harnesses new forms of 'internal' technologised social control and social disintegration.

Freire (1972: 123) recognised this permeation of power to the private spheres of social life, such as the family, in his discussion of the idea of 'cultural invasion'. Freire (1972: 123) argues that:

The parent-child relationship in the home usually reflects the objective cultural conditions of the surrounding social structures. If the conditions, which penetrate the home, are authoritarian, rigid, and dominating, the home will increase the climate of oppression. As these authoritarian relations between parents and children intensify, children in their infancy increasingly internalise the parental authority.

Allman & Wallis (1997:118), reflecting on Freire's legacy and the future of the radical tradition in adult education, note:

The ways in which adults come to see themselves in such ways is ironically provided by the work of Foucault whose study of the ways in which social disciplines become internalised bears interesting comparisons with Freire's analysis of the 'oppressor within'.

The idea of the 'internalised oppressor', later developed by both Foucault and Freire, was being grappled with by the S.I. and conceptualised as 'the colonization of everyday life'.

'The colonization of everyday life' is, according to 'Retort' (2004: 08) "globalisation" turned inward-mapping and enclosing the hinterland of the social, carving out from the detail of human inventiveness and ever more ramified and standardised market of exchangeable subjectivities. Naturally, the one colonization implied the other: there would be no Black Atlantic of sugars, alcohols, and opiates without the drive to shape subjectivity into a pattern of small (saleable) addictions.'

Moreover, the S.I. proposed that the possibility of artistic expression, experimentation and a fully lived human life, rich in experience, communication and participation, is blocked by the 'spectacle'. Importantly, the GDFLP (now established in Heart of Midlothian Football Club) may provide the opportunity to consider Debord's notion of the 'materialisation of ideology' in the form of the "spectacle" (Hawkes, 1996: 168), which, according to Hawkes, is 'ideology *par excellence*' (his emphasis) (1996:215). In *Society of the Spectacle* (1967: 215), Debord reflects that, in *Capital*, Marx claims that commodity exchange involves the recognition in one object of the representation of another object, with which it is to be exchanged. When this image is believed to be objectively present within the body of the first object, Debord argues, we have reached the stage of 'commodity fetishism'.

Early sociological studies, (Giulianotti 1999: 108) of football's labour relations drew heavily upon a neo-Marxist perspective, as did the S.I. Professional football was viewed as a capitalist enterprise; hence, the player became a worker alienated from his productive labour.

The club extracts surplus value (profit) from his productive labour. 'Commodity fetishism' afflicts the best-paid players, as increasingly they become known and appreciated for their price tag, rather than their technical qualities.

The objectified representation is therefore generalised in the form of money, the universal commodity, which represents alienated human activity.

Hall (1997: 266) suggests that fetishism takes us into the realm where fantasy intervenes in representation to the level where what is shown or seen can only be understood in relation to what cannot be seen or shown. *Fetishism* involves the substitution of an 'object' for some powerful but forbidden force.

In Marx's notion of 'commodity fetishism' the living labour of the worker has been displaced and disappears into things –the commodities which workers produce, but have to buy back as though they belonged to someone else. In Lukacs's (1971) *History and Class-consciousness*, this commodity fetishism gives rise to the ideological phenomenon of 'reification', which consists in seeing people as if they were things, while simultaneously attributing a spectral life and ghostly agency to objects.

How does the GDFLP endeavour to assist learners engage with a critical pedagogy that connects with concepts such as 'commodity fetishism', the 'materialisation of ideology' and 'reification'?

Professional football provides the ideal 'Semiotic Code', I would suggest, engaging learners in such reflection, at the same time as functioning as a celebratory resource, which can be harnessed for literacy learning potential.

The football celebrity David Beckham must be one of the exemplar images with which to engage learners in 'decoding' football as a construct of 'commodity fetishism'. Beckham has, it is widely acknowledged, become a 'logo', a thing to which is attributed a spectral life and a ghostly agency.

Jameson (1997: 293), for example, highlights a 'new process of the production of stars and celebrities' and 'the transformation of names into something like logos.' Jameson (1997: 293), in fact, points out that 'we need to return to the theory of the image, recalling Debord's remarkable theoretical derivation, namely the image as the form of commodity reification'.

Giulianotti (1999: 118) wrestles with the complex mechanisms of power involved in the construction of celebrity status awarded to football players such as David Beckham. Giulianotti argues that:

football celebrities have joined the young stars in other culture industries, notably television or popular music. The creative productivity of these *déclassé* entertainers is commodified and repacked as a fantastic cultural asset for purchase by any consumer. Advertising and popular media present their lifestyles as 'glamorous'. Consumers receive paradoxical messages; young superstars are ordinary yet exceptional, accessible yet distant, down-to-earth yet colourful.

Steven James's (SJ) (Section 5.2) used his encyclopaedic knowledge about football to ensure that when an 'ordinary yet exceptional' celebrity footballer such as John Colquhoun, Heart of Midlothian striker, failed to turn up at the programme, SJ acted as a remarkable understudy. Importantly, as if to illustrate Giulianotti's argument, SJ's contribution demonstrated how the detailed knowledge of celebrity footballers is internalised amongst individual consumers.

2.7 GDFLP Pedagogy and Curriculum

Inviting Experts to Support Critical and Practical Literacy

In 2005, the GDFLP invited the Edinburgh journalist Simon Pia to discuss, with learners, the construction of football celebrity.

The technique of exposing learners to football commentators such as Newspaper Journalists is an essential part of the GDFLP curriculum. Pia talked about the iconic figure of Beckham and he claimed that Piers Morgan, the then Daily Mirror editor, had said that ‘Beckham saved the Tabloids after the death of Lady Di’.

Pia argued that Rupert Murdoch was advised that the future for the media was satellite football and that profits from Murdoch's lower-cost newspaper empire offset the losses he accrued at Sky Television, allowing him to buy the rights to Premiership football and revolutionise the sport. Importantly, Pia recognised the ‘contradictions’ inherent in the fans’ relationship to the game. Pia (2005: 02) argued that ‘Football is not purely a business; Wallace Mercer says it’s like going to the cinema but he misses the point. Fans, like learners, are not empty vessels and their consent has to be manipulated and won’.

Fans and learners have voiced their disdain of Vladimir Romanov, Heart’s owner, although, as Pia pointed out, if their team is winning ‘Fans have blind faith’. Pia stressed how much football sells. Football is, in his opinion, ‘the biggest story since the 2nd World War.’ Pia said that he had experienced, as a journalist, the overwhelming bias towards the ‘rich and powerful in the media’.

This critical approach suggested in Pia’s (and others) dialogue with learners about the media, was also supported by an emphasis on the more practical aspects to literacy development. Pia avidly advised the group to “Read as much as possible” in order to develop their writing skills. He recommended, for example, a book ‘Heartfelt’ by Adrian Smith, which helped describe the drama of the game. I come back to the ways in which learners’ engaged with Pia’s critical-practical approach to literacy in Chapter 5.

Curricula Issues

To draw on learners' passion for football at the same time as reinforcing the critical literacy approach adopted by the Programme, learners are asked every term to bring cuttings of newspaper articles about football teams, football celebrities and stars, match reports and analysis of football matches. The learners are then encouraged to engage in a form of 'textually-orientated discourse analysis' (TODA) (Fairclough 1992: 169).

Students are asked to compare and contrast language; to look at the verbs in order to see, for example, if they are colloquial or standard (Section 4.4) for discussion on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)); to examine the words used to describe people in order to identify key words which might reinforce the celebrity status of football players; and to look at what people are presented as doing in the text; and to consider why ideas and people are being presented as they are.

The GDFLP aims to use TODA to enable adult learners to explore how football fans and learners are represented, and their position constructed, through language, pictures and codes.

TODA involves, according to Fairclough (1992), looking at what is absent from writing, as well as what is present, and how meanings are worded. Metaphors, vocabulary choices, and absences, are some of the features of language looked at in TODA in order to see how writers position the people or places they write about. The GDFLP tries to apply this method because the Freirian impetus behind ALP concurs with Jessop et al (1998: 52) when they argue that 'knowing how language works can encourage other ways of looking at the world, a refusal to accept certain positioning and the beginnings of an argument for change'. Fairclough (2003: 08) highlights the importance of TODA when he suggests that:

Texts as elements of social events have causal effects – i.e. they bring about changes. Most immediately, texts can bring about changes in our knowledge (we can learn things from them), our beliefs, values and so forth.

The ‘Spectacle’ of professional football is maintained through texts and football, or, more pertinently, the culture that surrounds it is as much a discursive process or formation as a physical sport. Our concern at ALP, and within the initial research questions of my EdD research, is the effect of texts and the ‘Spectacle’ in inculcating and sustaining or changing ideologies (also Section 4.4 for discussion on CDA). These initial research questions changed in the course of my research journey from those listed on page 85 to those listed on page 103 of this thesis.

Praxis (‘detournement’)

Central to the process of learning advocated by Freire is the concept of praxis, which is built into the GDFLP.

Mayo (1999: 90) suggests that praxis is a euphemism for Marxism, a synthesis between theory and practice, or consciousness and action.

Freire (1972: 77) seems to prefer the description of praxis as the process of ‘codification and decodification’. The GDFLP attempts to provide a reflective space where critical reflection on the world of action can take place in addition to encouragement and teaching towards the reading and writing of texts. An example of praxis in GDFLP was an outing in April 2006 where a group of learners taking part in the GDFLP, assisted by the ALP Association, visited Hamburg in Germany as part of a study trip. The learners went partly to explore the work of the International Erich Fromm Society but, as importantly for the learners, to watch and engage with the Hamburg football team, St Pauli FC.

I particularly welcomed the opportunity to participate in the visit at the time because one of my initial EdD research questions was ‘What is the impact upon learners of being subjected to alternative discourses?’ I discuss how my research questions evolved in Section 4.4.

The discourses within St Pauli FC Fan Club contrast with the dominant ‘spectacle’ discourse surrounding football, such as ‘war, leadership, stewardship, heroism’ (Section 4.4). According to Huxley (2004: 13), the counter-hegemonic discourses related to St Pauli FC include leftist political, antiracist, antifascist and antisexist ones. These discourses, Huxley argues, have brought them into conflict with Neo-Nazis and ‘hooligans’. The St. Pauli fan scene traditionally participates in social struggles especially struggles concerning housing and land ownership, in the district of St. Pauli. During the GDFLP visit to St Pauli, (Figure 4) the learners group were taken to the Hafenstrasse, which was an arena of new social movements, especially squatters’ movements in the 1980s.

The discourses surrounding St Pauli FC, according to Brux (2005: 07), began to change in the mid 1980s, the period when these discourses most clearly took on an anti-establishment and anti-authoritarian character.

Figure 4: GDFLP Learners visit St Pauli Football Stadium, 2nd April 2006



The culture shock of St Pauli FC experienced by GDFLP learners and tutors was, in my opinion, profound. The context of St Pauli reminded one of the S.I. strategy of radical social change using existing institutions and transforming them, rearranging them in a subversive counter-hegemonic manner. The counter-culture experience for learners in Hamburg was so intense that it was difficult to associate it with going to a football match anywhere in Scotland or in the UK.

As Barnard (2004: 108) points out, the Situationists' acts of transcendence and resistance to the Spectacle 'developed in the form of the strategic practices of *derive* – aimlessly drifting through urban environments – and *detournement*, the ironic rearrangement of pre-existing elements". Moreover, as Barnard (2004: 107) points out, unless these resistances are forthcoming, the 'possibility of artistic expression, experimentation and a fully-lived human life, rich in experience, communication and participation, is blocked by the Spectacle'.

This notion of a 'fully-lived human life' resonates strongly with Freire's notion of 'humanisation'. As Heaney (1995: 10) points out, for Freire:

The central task in any movement toward liberation is to become more fully human through the creation of humanly enhancing culture—in a word, "humanization."

By exposing learners to these emancipatory discourses that surround the St Pauli football community, the assumption was that learners might be able to engage with forms of talk, writing, and representation that are counter-hegemonic and, in my opinion more 'human'.

Tam Jackson (TJ) (Figure 4 and Section 5.6) was one of the GDFLP group who attended Hamburg. The exposure to the alternative discourses surrounding St Pauli partly encouraged him to become active in the ALP 'Welcoming' project for refugees and asylum seekers.

2.8 Conclusion

The idea of the GDFLP is quite straightforward. The programme tries to reject any idea of 'deficit' amongst literacy learners. It attempts to build upon learners' and football fans' desire to learn and their knowledge of the game.

Importantly, it builds upon their creativity, as well as the humour that suffuses the 'beautiful game' in Scotland. The project, through its foundations at the ALP, attempts to introduce a dialogical methodology derivative of the work of Freire. This practice does not patronise learners but stretches them to consider how they are positioned as 'subjects' to the 'Spectacle' of modern football culture. As 'Retort' (2004: 08) point out the idea of 'Spectacle' was intended as a first stab at characterising a new form of, or stage in, the accumulation of capital

Those who developed the analysis in the first place, such as Debord, resisted, 'the idea that this colonization of everyday life was dependent on any one set of technologies, but notoriously they [ST theorists] were interested in the means modern societies have at their disposal to systematise and disseminate *appearances*, and to subject the texture of day-to-day living to a constant barrage of images, instructions, slogans, logos, false promises, virtual realities, and miniature happiness motifs' (Retort 2004: 08).

I am of the view that football presents us with a rich curricula code with which to unveil the 'logic of late capitalism', and, as importantly, to assist learners to 'write their word and change the world.' (Freire & Macedo, 1987: 44).

Freire (1972, 1985) maintained throughout his career that it would be naive to expect the dominant classes to develop a type of education that would enable subordinate classes to perceive social injustices critically.

In fact, he (1985: 102) argued that 'there is no truly neutral education.' To claim neutrality, therefore, is to deceive adult learners. I am not neutral and I concur with the view expressed by the former Scottish Liverpool F.C. manager that:

'The socialism I believe in is everybody working for the same goal and everybody having a share in the rewards. That's how I see football, that's how I see life.'

Bill Shankly, Liverpool Manager

Educational commentators have claimed that the ALP, of which the GDFLP is an integral part, is a living form of adult education, asserting that its educational practice amounts to an imprint of 'Freire in Scotland' (Kirkwood & Kirkwood 1989).

The legacy of such an imprint is partly maintained through the ALP theoretical circle, the Paulo Freire Reading Group (PFRG) which is made up of educators and learners. This group seeks to fuse the educational practice of programme such as the GDFLP with ongoing theoretical, epistemological and ontological concerns, giving rise to an educational 'praxis' (Freire 1972).

The PFRG mirrors the passion of Scottish football with an intellectual exuberance that feeds into the GDFLP.

This group is distinct from the GDFLP and is made up of different participants although some established learners from the GDFLP cross over to the PFRG and participate in both. The work of the PFRG is important as it provides educational space for adult educators and learners to analyse the ideological mechanisms that recruit adult learners and football fans to the 'Spectacle's' different, often contradictory, subject positions.

Drawing upon the insights of Foucauldian discourse theory alluded to in the PFRG, I am proposing that football was turned into a 'discursive formation' in the 20th Century and intensified in the 21st Century and the purpose of such refraction is related to political economy and population management.

I use here the notion of 'discursive formation' in the Foucauldian sense as outlined by Cousins and Hussain (1984: 84) who suggest that:

Foucault constructs four hypotheses by which he hopes to identify, to isolate, a discursive formation. First, a discursive formation exists if the statements in it refer to one and the same object. Secondly, a discursive formation exists if there is a regular 'style' to the existence of statements, a common way in which statements are made.

Thirdly, a discursive formation exists if there is a constancy of concepts employed in the statements.

Lastly, a discursive formation exists if the statements all support a common 'theme', what Foucault calls a 'strategy', a common institutional, administrative or political drift and pattern.

I am suggesting that 'football' is a discursive formation and that it satisfies Foucault's four hypothesises. However, for the purposes of analysis of football discourses, I am anxious to employ a methodological framework, which, while drawing upon the insights of Michel Foucault, seeks to cut through some of its more abstract and obscurantist weaknesses by concretely exploring adult learners' narratives' about their experiences. By doing so I aim to address my key research question, 'What are the learners' experiences of the GDFLP?' The methodology I used to explore this research question is discussed in Chapter 4.

While I am confident that no critical literacy programme, based on unveiling the semiotic code of football exists anywhere else, in the following chapter, I focus on an examination of the literature on learners' experiences in adult literacy programmes.

Chapter 3: Researching the Perspective of Adult Literacy Learners

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine the literature on learners' experiences in adult literacy programmes. This review of the literature is organised around themes which recur in adult literacy research, highlighting specific themes, research and issues which are most directly relevant to my study. The review is organised into the following sections:

- Adult learning: academic and non-academic outcomes in 3.2;
- Learners' perceptions about themselves in 3.3;
- Literacy Learning in a Community-Based Program in 3.4
- People's stories / narratives in 3.5;
- Learners' perspectives of change in 3.6;
 - Listening to Learners
 - Outside the classroom
 - The Centrality of Fingeret et al's Research
- Critical Literacy in 3.7;
- A social practice view of literacy and the Scottish Context in 3.8;
- I conclude Chapter 3 in 3.9

My aim throughout the chapter and in the conclusion is to highlight gaps in the research carried out to date and to outline how my study of the impact of the Glory and Dismay Football Literacies Programme (GDFLP) on hard-to-reach adult learners aims to redress some of these spaces in existing research.

3.2 Adult Learning: Non-Academic and Academic Outcomes

Key goals of my research are to explore the impact of the GDFLP on literacy learning and at the same time to give voice to learners' experience of the GDFLP. An important area to explore is existing literature on how programmes are evaluated, in particular, debates surrounding the use (and valuing) of non-academic as well as academic outcomes. Indeed, the decision to give voice to learners' experiences indicates recognition of the importance of 'non academic outcomes'. The literature on non-academic outcomes in adult learning is therefore very pertinent.

Westell's (2005) literature review for *Measuring Non-Academic Outcomes in Adult Literacy Programs* provides a useful starting point. Westell (2005: 01) asserts that non-academic outcomes are worth studying and argues that 'every study on outcomes in adult education cites a number of non-academic outcomes.' By way of definition, Westell (2005: 07) argues that the 'most commonly mentioned non-academic outcome ... is self-confidence, also called self-determination, self-direction, self-esteem, agency, choice, control, independence and standing up for oneself.'

Westell does not define academic outcomes. Green & Howard (2007: 17) define academic outcomes in adult literacies with a focus more 'on summative assessment, a final test to determine success or failure at designated levels in a national standards framework.'

In the context of the GDFLP I would identify assessed or accredited learning as 'academic outcomes'. Westell (2005: 01) maintains that there are 'obviously strong correlations between increased self-confidence and hopefulness, and a return to further education as an adult.'

Hal Beder's (1999) survey of studies on the outcomes and impacts of adult education programmes in the US since the late 1960s is cited (2005: 02), but Westell notes that the only unequivocal statement that Beder makes about outcomes is that 'Participation in adult literacy has a positive impact on learners' self image.'

This statement is supported by the report by HM Inspectorate of Education (HMIe) (2005) *Changing Lives: Adult Literacy and Numeracy in Scotland. A Report by HM Inspectorate of Education*. However the HMIe (2005: V) was critical of adult literacy programmes which only seem to focus on non-academic outcomes, such as improvement in positive self-image. They argue that the information they managed to acquire on 'learners' progress and achievement, in order to prepare the report, focused too much on wider outcomes such as the development of self-confidence' and not enough on measurable improvements in reading and writing.

Nevertheless, Westell commends the Scottish Government for viewing literacy as a complex set of practices, and its implicit recognition of the difficulty of evaluating programmes in terms of the outcomes of such programmes. Indeed, she (2005: 04) points out that:

The Scottish Executive (the devolved government of Scotland) has embraced the 'New Literacies Studies' idea of literacy as a socially situated, non-linear set of practices. In their (Scottish Executive) publication *Literacies in Scotland* they issue a number of principles and describe them this way:

“The Principles are based on an understanding of literacy and numeracy as complex capabilities rather than as a single set of skills.”

Similarly, Grace Malicky cited in Westell’s (2005: 04) overview, comments on the need ‘to recognise the complexity of the lives of adult literacy learners in order to make it possible for adults to continue in literacy programs.’ Westell (2005: 07) concludes her overview by calling for further research, especially studies that connect ‘program evaluation (looking at approach, environment, culture, etc.) with research on outcomes’. Moreover, Westell (2005: 07) cites Greenwood *et al*, who ‘recommend an action research approach that engages learners’ and practitioners’ in doing qualitative studies of outcomes’. My study, which aimed to get at ‘non-academic’ as well as ‘academic’ outcomes of the GDFLP, responds to Westell’s research request. Issues surrounding getting at such outcomes are discussed in Section 4.5.

In her literature review of non-academic outcomes in adult literacy programmes Westell (2005: 10) refers to research on changes in learners’ attitudes, which, she argues, were another non-academic outcome of adult education. Westell (2005: 10) asserts that ‘education is known to affect the views and values of people about diversity, gender and race’. She also makes the point that ‘It’s not clear if the attitude changes documented in these studies are a result of specific educational interventions about these issues or a natural by-product of more learning and being part of a diverse group’ (2005: 10). In Chapter 2 (Section 2.7), I point out that Tam Jackson (TJ) was one of the GDFLP group who attended Hamburg to see St Pauli Football Club play against a German 3rd division league game.

TJ was exposed to the alternative discourses surrounding St Pauli and this partly encouraged him to become active in the Adult Learning Project (ALP) (Section 1.1) Association's 'Welcoming' project for refugees and asylum seekers.

Again, however, it would be difficult to determine if this was due to a specific educational intervention, such as inviting speakers from 'Show Racism the Red Card' to the GDFLP classes or the by-product of being part of a diverse cultural-exchange group.

The tension that surrounds the discussion around academic and non-academic outcomes may be articulated as follows: whilst we recognise the importance of non-academic outcomes, such as increased personal confidence, if we fail to access adult learners into academic outcomes, are we not guilty of effectively assisting them to celebrate their own exclusion?

Indeed, as Green & Howard (2007: 19) point out, the social practices models, which seem to privilege non-academic outcomes, 'seek to exempt learners from a common, if difficult, element of learning and achievement [and] are often criticised as operating with condescension and double standards and perpetuating exclusion'. My aim in the GDFLP is to work towards both academic and non-academic outcomes and my research study aims to explore learners' perspectives and experiences of both dimensions.

3.3 Learners' Experiences and Self-Perceptions

Malicky's work is relevant to my enquiry into learners' experiences and perceptions. In fact, Malicky & Norman (1996: 03) make the useful point that:

Little research has focused on the lives of adult literacy learners or on their perceptions of changes in their lives as they participate in literacy programs.

Of equal importance, Malicky & Norman (1996: 03) cite Horsman (1990: 136), who points out that ‘few educators seek to describe the situation of those who are labelled illiterate from the ‘illiterate’s’ perspective.’

An earlier overview of research on adult illiteracy pointed out that the ‘perceptions, views and attitudes of clients are notably absent from the bulk of the literature. ... However, only a handful of researchers have talked with adults about what their lives are like or what the impact of literacy education is on their lives.’ (Hunter and Harman (1979; cited in Malicky & Norman). While contesting the pejorative use of the word ‘illiterate’, I would also argue that my research is indeed an attempt to describe the world from an adult learner’s perspective.

My work in this thesis aims to respond to this call for a focus on learners’ experience of participation in literacy programmes, whilst responding directly to the comment made by Malicky & Norman (1996: 03) that the ‘more we know about the adults in our literacy programs, the more our programs can reflect their needs and the subjective realities of their lives.’ Such recognition implicitly involves the design of programmes to allow learners to continue in literacy work. Indeed Horsman goes further, suggesting that programmes ‘provide opportunities for learners to critically examine the social organisation of their lives so they can challenge the forces which lead to dropout’ (Horsman 1990; cited in Malicky & Norman).

Through drawing attention to the life experiences of the learners participating in the GDFLP - in effect assisting the development of their “own voice” – my study recognises such complexity. Moreover, the social practice model of the GDFLP would concur with a further statement from Malicky & Norman (1996: 04) that, ‘As well as incorporating critical pedagogy into literacy programs, counsellors and other support services are important components of literacy programs.’

The GDFLP works in partnership with, for example, Homeless Agencies; Offenders' organisations and Children and Families Department, City of Edinburgh Council (CEC). The GDFLP, in so doing, recognising their importance as mechanisms of delivering the overall programme.

The collective group work approach of the GDFLP, which is both noisy and exuberant is an exemplifier of one of Malicky & Norman's (1996: 05) key recommendations that:

Enhancing the social aspects of literacy programs is recommended to meet the needs of adults who are relatively isolated in their homes. Providing opportunities for learners to engage in meaningful dialogue with one another and with teachers also leads to improved oral communication skills. Silent classrooms with students working independently tend to silence learners rather than help them to find a voice.

Malicky, Katz, Norton & Norman (1997: 84), in their study of a community-based adult literacy programme argue that the critical perspective they adopt 'reflects the work of Paulo Freire who believes that the goal of literacy is not adapting people to fit into society but rather helping people become aware of inequities and contradictions in economic and social structures to bring about change.' More significantly for the purposes of identifying gaps in research into learners' perspectives on programmes such as the GDFLP, Malicky & Norman (1996: 06) are adamant that:

In relation to further research in this area, open-ended questions appear to be an appropriate technique for examining the situation of illiterate adults from their perspective.

... In order to develop appropriate literacy programs for adults, we need research on the long-term impact of their participation in these programs.

In designing my interview questions, I aimed to explore adults' perspectives by adopting an openness to what participants wanted to discuss.

3.4 Literacy Learning in a Community-Based Programme

Malicky *et al* (1997: 84) develop some of the above themes in their research into literacy learning for 5 successful adult learners in an inner-city community-based program, as well as identifying factors that supported their learning. While recognising that 'limited information is available on what makes these programs effective', the authors considered a qualitative case-study approach to be 'the most appropriate to understand students' experiences from their own perspective.' Malicky *et al* (1997: 85).

Malicky *et al*'s (1997) study deals with many of my initial research questions (Section 4.5), especially that of 'How are the dominant discourses internalised in adult learners?' Malicky *et al* (1997: 100) argue that their research supports the contention that:

the oppressor lives inside people who are oppressed. All 5 low-literate adults in this study were participants in their own oppression through accommodation of the dominant discourse on literacy.

Moreover, the authors (1997: 101) point out that acceptance of 'a deficit perspective, pervasive in dominant views of illiteracy, was reflected when adult learners reported that it was their own fault they had not learned to read and write'. Malicky *et al*'s (1997) research is of relevance to my research goal of understanding learner's perspectives and experiences (Section 4.7).

3.5 People's Stories / Narratives

Malicky et al (1997: 102) are insistent that a critical literacy approach needs to begin with learners' narratives. They (1997: 103) argue that:

It would appear that community based literacy programs need to help individuals place themselves within the context of their own histories prior to expecting them to engage in action to change social and economic structures. *This suggests that critical literacy needs to begin with people's stories*', (my emphasis).

I would argue that my study is an unambiguous response to the conclusions and recommendations emanating from the research in adult literacy education carried out by Malicky and her colleagues, as developed in Chapter 5 of my thesis. In Section 4.15, I discuss this in more detail and I explain how I use 'Narrative' to give voice to learners' experiences. I point out that the narratives produced from my research data explain changes within their own lives as literacy learners. Moreover, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, and throughout, I have been aware of such recommendations especially their concluding one that:

Although working with people's stories is critical, it is also important that low literate adults have the opportunity within community-based programs to experience alternate power relations that are different from those in the larger society. By living out what might be within the literacy program, they become aware of the possibilities for a more equitable and democratic society. (Malicky 1997: 113)

The purpose of ALP is to facilitate such a 'democratic learning community' (Reeves, 2005); one that provides an alternative to that which permeates the dominant discourse (Gee, 1989), and that consciously promotes what Gee (1989: 08) describes as 'Non-dominant discourses (which) bring solidarity with a social network but not wider status or goods.' Evidence of these non-dominant discourses and democratic learning community are reflected in my case studies in Chapter 5.

3.6 Learners' Perspectives of Change

From my own overview of the literature explicitly focusing on researching and representing the experience of adult learners (Barton and Hamilton 1998; Barton *et al* 2004; Hamilton & Wilson 2005; Scottish Executive 2001; Ward 2003; Warner *et al* 2008) specific research which explicitly focuses on learners' experiences of literacy programmes, stand out as directly relevant to the context of the programme and learners in my research. These are works by Cole & Pearce (2005); Fowler & Mace (2005); and, in particular, Fingeret & Drennon (1997).

In the following sections, I will point out the ways in which my study is similar, and in which ways there are differences in goals and methods, and to use this engagement with the three works to highlight the specific gaps my study attempts to fill.

Listening to Learners: The Work of Cole and Pearce

Cole & Pearce (2005: 17) point out that they were involved in an 'evaluation of the impact of *Skills for Life* (Green & Howard 2007) on adult learners (Warner *et al* (2008), Cole & Pearce (2005: 17) describe the 'emerging insights gained from the ongoing qualitative strand of the study', and explain that the 'interviews were carried out during the first stage of the study' (Warner *et al* 2008: 11).

They point out that, when exploring the impact of *Skills for Life*, between 2004 and 2006 they conducted 416 first interviews and 135 second interviews with adult literacy, ESOL and numeracy learners across six geographical sites in England. Importantly, in relation to my study, Cole & Pearce (2005: 17) argue that their

approach has been ethnographic and narrative in orientation. Ethnographic in that, as far as an evaluation allows, we have sought to work collaboratively with our partners in the case study sites so that interviews with learners could take place in their own learning contexts using a flexible approach.

Moreover, Cole and Pearce encouraged learners to talk about how their own learning experiences within the *Skills for Life* infrastructure related to everyday lives using a variety of methods: small group interviews, whole group evaluation exercises or individual interviews.

Importantly Cole and Pearce (2005: 17) point out that the emerging stories collected from people's experiences provide the 'narrative orientation of our approach'. Narrative is a key theme I return to in Chapter 4.

I would suggest that while Cole and Pearce (2005: 17) succeed in identifying 'emerging themes, trends and tendencies across a broad spectrum of learners', their final report falls short of providing a full narrative orientation to their approach. Moreover, they concentrate on learners' deficits rather than celebrating and acknowledging learners' obvious strengths. This is understandable due to the constraints of the evaluative report. The authors (2008: 41), for example, argue that:

Many learners said they wanted to attend literacy classes to learn things they had not learned or fully understood at school.

This was for a variety of reasons, including being bored, being bullied, having undiagnosed dyslexia, playing truant, dealing with difficult home circumstances.

Nevertheless, Warner *et al* (2008: 44) point out that, as with my own study, learners ‘ascribed great importance to the social aspects of learning’. Warner *et al* (Ed) (2008: 44) maintain that ‘Nearly all those who attended adult literacy classes mentioned the social aspect of learning and improved confidence. The social aspect was described as providing intellectual interest, structure in the day and contact with other people’. My findings in Chapter 5 use Cole and Pearce’s ‘narrative orientation’ to emphasise the significance of the social aspect of the GDFLP.

Outside the Classroom: The Work of Fowler and Mace

Fowler & Mace (Ed) (2005), as with Cole and Pearce and the Scottish Executive (Scottish Executive 2001; 2005; Westell, Tracy 2005; Green & Howard 2007), are ardent advocates of the concept of ‘literacy as social practice’. Mace (2005: vii) argues that:

Adult literacy teachers know that their job is to enhance reading and writing outside the context of classroom, but its constraints require them to spend a great deal of time having to think about literacy as *skills*; so that there is a risk that they might teach skills out of the context in which anyone uses them (or rather only in the context of classroom use).

Fowler & Mace’s (2005: viii) aim was to ‘report on a research project into literacy as a social practice’ which involved a project they designed as part of the training for adult literacy practitioners. Their focus and task for their trainees was ‘a case study of an adult literacy learner’ (2005: viii). The research project was a study of the literacy practices and events identified and written up by their trainees with a theoretical overview compiled by Fowler and Mace.

Fowler & Mace (2005: viii) identify a critical gap in the literature, pointing out that, 'in teaching these assignments, we found no other published guide which brought "theory" and "practice" together'. Moreover, pertinent to my research, they go on to affirm that 'an appreciation of context is a key element in the social practice view of literacy'.

Basically, their research project was a series of case studies of learners brought together by adult literacy tutors who were trainees on the theory and practice course devised by Fowler and Mace. Case studies were compiled by adult literacy tutors who wrote up one of their adult students' experiences with the aim of helping illuminate both the theory and practice inherent in the "New Literacies Studies" approach (Maybin 2000).

Fowler and Mace thus set out to explore the theory behind the social practice approach to teaching adult literacy. Mace (2005: xi) is helpful when she describes three key aspects of the social practice view of literacy. These are:

- Literacy events – observable moments when people are doing reading and writing, as part of something else (and the literacy practices of which they form a part);
- Social networks – which shift over time and support or inhibit our uses of literacy; and
- The literacy environment that we inhabit at a given time or place: partly, but not wholly, expressed by the physical presence of texts around us.

Mace (2005: 06) in her discussion about literacy events and practices cites Barton (1994: 5). For Barton, literacy events are the particular activities in which literacy has a role, while literacy practices are 'the general cultural ways of utilising literacy that people draw upon in a literacy event' (Barton 1994: 5, cited in Mace (2005: 06).

Barton gave the example of a note for the milkman, the writing of which and putting it somewhere to be read, is a literacy event. The ‘decision to do it, finding pen and paper, deciding what to write and where to leave it, all, make use of our literacy practices’ (Barton 1994: 5, cited in Mace, 2005: 06).

Fowler (2005: 110) argues that their research has implications for the teaching process and refers to Brian Street, who suggests that, when considering the implications for literacy research of the social practice view of literacy, a number of principles should be applied. An initial principle for Street (2003: 84) is that, ‘Literacy is more complex than current curriculum and assessment allows’. Fowler (2005: 110) usefully maintains that Street’s statement was:

echoed in comments from the teachers involved in this project.

Gill Whalley wrote, for example:

The case study reinforces for me that rather than focusing on learners’ ‘needs’ and ‘deficits, we need to refocus on how complex and sophisticated their communication skills actually are.

Fowler engages with the theme of “assessment” which is a key issue in adult literacy and my research, as I discuss in Section 4.5. She (2005: 110) argues that ‘in order to fully take on the social practices view of literacy, assessment should do more than measure the skills someone possesses.’ Moreover, Fowler (2005: 110) proposes that

assessment needs to record how people use literacy. It was only through these case studies that learners and teachers acknowledged what learners were able to do. An assessment that measures an educational literacy practice in terms of skills privileges a certain type of literacy.

Fowler (2005: 114) makes a plea for 'further research and how we and they can achieve change in literacy practices' and calls for 'all teachers to be researchers in the classroom; not in order to publish, but in order to reflect on and improve teaching.'

As importantly, Fowler makes 'a call for all students to be involved in that research, as partners not as objects.' My research into the impact of the GDFLP takes up Fowler's requests and is committed to the concept of adult learner as partner.

The Centrality of Fingeret et al's Research

Key research on adult literacy programmes, closely related to my own, is the work carried out by Arlene Fingeret and her colleagues. Fingeret led a study, entitled *Lives of Change* (1994), in which she and her colleagues carried out an ethnographic evaluation of two literacy programmes in Canada i.e. the Invergarry Adult Learning Centre Literacy program and Vancouver Municipal Workplace Language Program.

Fingeret's work, (1994; 1997) I feel, is of specific relevance to my study, not only for the recommendations she makes in *Lives of Change* but, more importantly, in the research she and her colleagues carried out in *Literacy for Life: Adult Learners, New Practices*. Fingeret et al (1994: 19) conclude their study by saying:

We recommend more systematic discussion about the relationship between culture, learning, instruction, and programmatic responses. Culture cannot be separated from a robust model of learner-centred literacy education.

My research takes up this call for a concentration on the 'relationship between culture, learning instruction and programmatic responses'.

The idea that football is central to Scottish popular culture, and is the obvious collective centre of attention for the participants in the GDFLP, is eloquently made by Giulianotti (2005: 339):

For over a century, football has been central to Scottish popular culture, and indeed has been viewed as a compensatory venue for the expression of popular forms of ethno-religious, ethno-regional and ethno-national identity.

Throughout their research Fingeret & Drennon highlight the “generative theme” (Freire 1972: 69) of “change”, through examining the change in the lives of a group of adult learners, who joined others to attend Literacy Volunteers of New York City (NVYC). This group became a series of case studies in their research. Fingeret & Drennon (1997: 01) point out that their work ‘started as a study of the impact of participation on the literacy abilities and practice of students in LVNYC in 1990’. However their research aims and direction altered. The authors drew attention to the fact that ‘impact studies usually document *what* changes students ascribe to their participation’ (1997: 01).

For Fingeret & Drennon (1997: 01) their work became ‘increasingly interested in *how* change happens, and why some people change in certain ways rather than in other ways’.

As with Fowler and Mace’s stress upon *context* and *complexity* in their social practice approach to literacy research and teaching, Fingeret & Drennon (1997: 01) argue that:

It became clear that *impact is situational*. Assessment of learner progress in many literacy programs focuses on students’ technical skills (e.g., de-coding, word recognition), as if those technical skills were applied the same way in all circumstances.

Moreover, Fingeret & Drennon's (1997: 61) focus is 'on literacy as social and cultural practices', and, as with Fowler & Mace, they look to Brian Street in their search for theoretical clarity. They critique a prevailing notion of literacy, which 'focuses on reading, and empathises discrete *technical skills* that can be applied across contexts and cultures. The so-called independent reader is provisioned with a toolbox of skills such as phonics analysis, syllabication, and main idea identification. With such tools the reader is supposed to be able to deal with any literacy situation that arises.' Fingeret & Drennon (1997: 61) refer to Street's (1992) work, which critiques this kind of "autonomous" model of literacy, which:

assumes that literacy exists separately from specific situations or ideologies. In this model, meaning resides in the text itself; consequently, many literacy educators focus on decoding and encoding as instructional goals. Instruction focuses on words, and then on how words build sentences and paragraphs.

As with Fowler & Mace's (2005: 110) emphasis on the 'need to refocus on how complex and sophisticated communication skills actually are', Fingeret & Drennon (1997: 61) argue for a 'more complex conception of literacy'. This is a view of literacy that acknowledges, but is more than, 'the ability to independently and successfully accomplish specific tasks such as filling in forms, pulling information from newspaper ads, or addressing an envelope' (1997: 61).

As with Fowler & Mace's (2005: viii) affirmation that 'an appreciation of context is a key element in the social practice view of literacy', Fingeret & Drennon (1997: 61), with reference to the accomplishment of specific tasks, contend that there 'is some sense of context' in the task orientated view of literacy. Nevertheless, Fingeret & Drennon (1997: 61) take the social practice approach, inherent in New Literacy Studies (NLS), when they argue that:

Viewing literacy as skills or tasks does not adequately encompass the complexity of the experience of literacy in adults' lives. Literacy reflects the fundamental interdependence of the social world at many levels; oral language is a shared understanding of a set of relationships between symbols, sounds, and meanings.

Meaning reflects shared cultural heritage, individual personality, and unique life experiences. Although literacy requires knowledge of technical skills of forming letters, spelling words, decoding, and so on, these technical skills are useless without social knowledge that attaches meaning to words *in context*.

Fingeret & Drennon's critique of a view of literacy that highlights skills and tasks concurs with the view, favoured by Cole & Pearce (2005) and Fowler & Mace (2005) that adults engage in social and cultural literacy practices. Yet, in an endeavour to clarify the notion of critical literacies, pertinent to the Freirian (1972: 28) thrust of my research, Fingeret & Drennon (1997: 63) argue that:

The view of literacy as practices recognises that meanings change as situations change; however, it accepts the meanings in situations as non-problematic.

A fourth conception of literacy, as *critical reflection and action*, problematises those meanings; it makes the context and explicit subject of analysis and reflection and proposes that it is possible to act to change the situation itself.

The GDFLP has consistently used the context of football issues to promote such critical reflection and action. For example, learners collectively wrote to the owner of Heart of Midlothian Football Club, Vladimir Romanov, to complain about his authoritarianism in choosing the team.

The letters were translated into Russian and forwarded to him. Romanov failed to reply.

3.7 Critical Literacy

Fingeret & Drennon (1997: 61) clearly recognise the importance of functional literacy acquisition, but as pointed out above, they argue that the technical skills of literacy ‘are useless without social knowledge that attaches meaning to words *in context*’. Their preferred (2005: 63) concept of literacy as critical action and reflection of ‘critical literacy’ is, I would argue, implicitly Freirian. As Mayo (1995: 363) points out:

Critical literacy refers to an emancipatory process in which one reads not only the ‘word’ but also the ‘world’ (Freire and Macedo, 1987), a process whereby a person becomes empowered to be able to unveil and decode ‘the ideological dimensions of texts, institutions, social practices and cultural forms such as television and film, in order to reveal their selective interests’.

While Fingeret & Drennon refrain from the language of Mayo (1995: 364) who maintains that ‘“cultural action for freedom’ and cultural revolution’ constitute key contexts for the development of critical literacy’, they would agree that, as a process of teaching, critical literacy is very much ‘a dialogical one’ (Mayo 1995: 365). They would also agree with Mayo’s (1995: 373) view that ‘elements for the learning process – the material to be coded and decoded – are to be taken from the community in which the learners live.’ The GDFLP uses football, which is central to Scottish popular culture, to code and decode.

Pertinently for my research, Fingeret & Drennon (1997: 83) discuss in detail the generative theme emerging from their learner case studies of ‘shame’ and they (1997: 83) argue that learners could do well to:

Develop a more critical perspective on literacy and literacy development. Placing their experience in a broader framework and seeing the extent to which social and political conditions share responsibility for their problems with literacy can begin to mediate self-blame.

Fingeret and Drennon's (1997: 109) study is important for my research because it followed a similar trajectory to my own; in particular their decision to refocus the aims from that of the programme, to one that examined more directly the students themselves. My research, while influenced by Fingeret and Drennon, varies significantly in that the cultural context is very different. I decided not to carry out quantitative testing as they did (Section 4.5); instead I developed the narrative orientation to represent the lives of the learners both inside and outside the classroom in a more extensive manner.

3.8 A Social Practice View of Literacy and the Scottish Context

I establish above that the research of Cole & Pearce 2005; Fowler & Mace 2005; Fingeret & Drennon 1997 positions them firmly within a social practice view of adult literacy. I will now touch upon the extent of this approach's influence within the Scottish context, and examine the research that has taken place in Scotland that looks at learners' experience of adult literacy programmes. I will also identify gaps in the research and highlight how mine makes a contribution to filling them.

The Scottish Executive (2005: 02) is remarkably straightforward in its theoretical approach, candidly declaring that:

We are using a social practices account of adult literacy and numeracy (Barton 2002).

Rather than seeing literacy and numeracy as the decontextualised, mechanical manipulation of letters, words and figures, this view shows that literacy and numeracy are located within social, emotional and linguistic contexts. ... Literacy and numeracy practices integrate the routines, skills and understandings that are organised writing specific contexts and also feelings and values that people have about these activities.

The Scottish Executive (now Scottish Government) is at pains to position itself within an approach advocated by Barton (2002). Green & Howard (2007: 06) take Scotland's Adult Literacy and Numeracy in Scotland (ALNIS) as the 'exemplar of social practices-based policymaking and approaches to learning programmes'.

It would appear that Scottish policymaking in relation to adult literacy and numeracy has been considerably influenced by the work of Freire, Barton, and of Fingeret and her colleagues in the United States. For example, in the seminal policy document in Scotland, the ALNIS Report (2001: 07), states:

What constitutes an adequate standard of literacy and numeracy has not remained static throughout history. Literacy and numeracy are skills whose sufficiency may only be judged within a specific social, cultural, economic or political context

Our own definition... tries to take account of this: The ability to read, write and use numeracy, to handle information, to express ideas and opinions, to make decisions and solve problems, as family members, workers, citizens and lifelong learners (my emphasis).

This emphasis on literacy's purposes, rather than on discreet goals, strongly mirrors the policy options advocated by Fingeret and Drennon (1997: 108).

The authors mention the example of Stein (1995), who offers a reshaping of the National education Goal 6 (National Education Goals Panel, 1994), relating to adult literacy. Stein,

calls for policy that will support literacy development for every adult American, emphasising that an adult must “*possess the knowledge and skills necessary to orient oneself in a rapidly changing world, to find one’s voice and be heard, and to act independently as a citizen and as a worker, for the good of one’s family, one’s community and one’s nation*” (p. 25) (my emphasis).

This prominence given to literacy’s purposes, rather than discreet skills, by both the Scottish Executive and the National Education Goals Panel is backed up by an appeal for research and consultation with learners. In fact, the Scottish Executive (2001: 03) ALNIS reports *Recommendation 16* requests ‘*that the national strategy, as it develops, be informed by and responsive to research and consultation with learners*’ (their emphasis).

In response to the ALNIS report, the Scottish Executive (2001) facilitated the *Listening to learners: Consultation with Learners about Adult Literacy Education in Scotland* report. In this, the Scottish Executive (2001: 07) recognised the ‘value of consulting learners and how little is currently happening.’ Moreover, it also recognised the ‘need to better recognise the diversity of learners’ needs, interests and desires’ (2001: 15). The Scottish Executive (2005: 19) cements its social practice approach when it argues that their own research findings enabled them to set out some of the key principles of learning and teaching for adult literacy and numeracy. These were:

- ‘Learning is purposeful, goal directed activity.

- Purposeful learning builds on learners' prior knowledge and experience to shape and construct new knowledge. Those who have faced prejudice and discrimination based on gender, race, age, sexuality or disability may have internalised some of the negative ideas about their capacity to learn.
- Learning is a social activity embedded in a particular culture and context. Learning occurs through engaged participation in the activities of knowledge communities such as workplace colleagues or family members. (Scottish Executive 2005: 19)

Green & Howard (2007: 07) point out that the Scottish approach to tackling 'low literacy, language or numeracy (LLN) skills, differs strikingly from the 'English *Skills for Life* Strategy – with its national curricula and tests – ... a skills-based model.' Green & Howard (2007: 07) argue that:

The differences between the English and Scottish approaches are based on the underlying understandings of LLN in the two countries – and in others – and the policy drives behind the respective strategies. *Skills for Life*, as the name indicates, fits very much with other government strategies to address national skills issues. It does have a social inclusion aim but has been increasingly focused on supporting the drive for a high-skilled, competitive economy, delivering the LLN and ICT that people need to allow them to develop the professional skills for sustainable productive employment. The ALNIS strategy has taken a different approach, embedding adult basic skills into its community regeneration policy area, part of the Development Department.

Green and Howard (2007: 08) go on to point out that 'ALNIS gives a high degree of autonomy to teaching professionals within an overarching curriculum framework document, which provides guidance about how tutors can work with learners to identify, define and then address their learning goals'.

A major research project into learners' experiences of seven programmes was conducted in Scotland from June 2007 - May 2008 by the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, entitled *Motivating Adult Literacies to Persist, Progress and Achieve: Literacies learners at risk of non-completion of learning targets*.

This draws attention to the 'overarching curriculum framework document' referred to by Green and Howard (2007: 08). The authors of the research report, Crowther, Edwards, Hall, Maclachlan & Tett (2008: 11) refer to it in their statement about one of the aims of their research:

The findings presented here have been informed by observations of practice and interviews and learners. Case studies in the main exemplified good practice in ALN teaching and learning as laid out in the Scottish Curriculum Framework. In the majority of instances a social practices approach to literacies was observed.

This report (2008: 13), which uses the GDFLP as one of its case studies, quotes directly from the 'Adult literacy and Numeracy Curriculum Framework for Scotland', (2005: 17) when exploring the learners "pace of learning". Crowther et al (2008: 13) found that, in most of the case studies 'learners were supportively challenged to extend themselves by taking small, scaffolded steps with the help of their tutors and their peers'.

Scaffolding refers to a collaborative process that helps the learner to move from novice to expert, 'by providing tasks that are slightly above the learner's level of independent functioning yet can be accomplished with sensitive guidance' (Adult literacy and Numeracy Curriculum Framework for Scotland, 2005: 17).'

As Crowther *et al* (2008: 21) point out, the project team from the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh was commissioned by Learning Connections, which is the Scottish Government agency with the responsibility of applying the revised ALNIS (2001) strategy and recommendations.

The purpose of the research is, according to Crowther *et al* (2008: 21), to explain 'the key factors that either motivate or prevent 'at risk' adult literary and numeracy learners from persisting and progressing in their learning and achieving their aims.' The research project produced a series of recommendations arising from classroom observations and interviews over time with both tutors and learners.

The research team, as Crowther *et al* (2008: 26) describe, interviewed 'up to 8 ALN learners in each of the case studies.' As with my research, the interviews were taped and transcribed. The project team experienced difficulty in follow up interviews by telephone, (Crowther *et al* 2008: 26) and their 'second round of interviews comprised of a combination of face to face individual interviews with selected learners, telephone interviews where it was practicable and group interviews in two classes that were reaching the end of their course'. One of the group interviews was with some of the learners from the GDFLP. While the research recommendations (2008:15) are useful in identifying very important issues such as:

1. The low levels of engagement in staff development

2. The failure to gather material that would inform their own reflective practice and improve their capacity to provide an effective learning experience for the learner.

The report, I feel, lacks:

1. The narrative orientation towards exploring learners' experiences recommended by Cole and Pearce (2005: 17)
2. In depth autobiographical accounts of learners' lives which might highlight the barriers to persisting in adult education
3. Understandings achieved through ongoing engagement with learners, of the kind I have been able to adopt due, in part, to my role as teacher / researcher
4. An ability to overcome the difficulties of research surrounding limited engagement with learners' perspectives that can appear to be simply 'parachuting in and out' of learners' lives.

3.9 Conclusion

My research aims to contribute to existing work on learners' perspectives by building on 'the narrative orientation' recommended by Cole and Pearce and by answering the calls for further research made above. My research is not as constrained as Cole and Pearce's qualitative contribution to Warner *et al's* (2008) evaluative report on the impact of the *Skills for Life* strategy and, I would suggest, develops their aspiration of representing the 'emerging stories collected from people's experiences'.

To summarise Chapter 3, I would propose that:

1. The studies that have explored the impact of programmes on adult literacy learners tell us that:

- participation in adult literacy has a positive impact on learners' self image;
 - self-confidence is the most commonly mentioned non-academic outcome;
 - literacy is a complex set of practices rather than a single set of skills;
 - adult education is known to affect the attitudes of people about diversity, gender and race.
2. There is little research on learners' programmes and little research overall has explored the impact, experiences and perspectives of literacy programmes on adult literacy learners or on their perceptions of changes in their lives as they participate in literacy programmes.
 3. No research currently exists on the impact of football literacy programmes on learners; therefore, my thesis makes a unique contribution.
 4. The relevant literature lacks clear definition of both academic and non-academic outcomes and, therefore, only partially succeeds in clarifying and drawing out the tensions that exist between both forms of outcomes. My thesis aims to add clarity here by considering how this definitional struggle between forms of outcomes mirrors, in some ways, those surrounding functional and critical literacy, which are part of my research.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Initial Findings

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the methodology used in my study. It will summarise how I refined my research questions and developed a methodology for data collection, as well as describing how I established the means of analysis and representation of the experiences of adult learners whilst capturing their exuberance and commitment.

In this chapter, I will firstly outline my research journey including my Pilot Study by:

- Illustrating the 'natural history' of my research, which includes the use of Critical Discourse Analysis (4.2);
- Explaining the case study approach adopted in this thesis overall (4.3);
- Examining the data I collected that I decided later not to use, which includes a Basic Skills Assessment Literacies Test (4.5);

Secondly, I will sketch out my Main Study by:

- Explaining how I revised my research questions and thus added additional interview questions (4.7, 4.8)
- Describing how I obtained my data, in particular through the use of semi-structured interviews and participant observations notes recorded in a journal (4.9, 4.10, 4.11);
- Explore issues surrounding ethics, transcriptions, consent, and unexpected issues arising from main interviews (4.12, 4.13, 4.14)
- Describe the methods I use to analyse and represent this data (4.15, 4.16, 4.17);

A key aim of this chapter is to present the processes by which I aim to give validity to my findings, which are presented as case studies in Chapter 5.

4.2 The Natural History of my Research

As the initiator and co-ordinator of the GDFLP, and one of the adult literacy teachers, I struggled considerably at first with making the transition from teacher to researcher. I also struggled to respond to the plea made by Fowler (2005: 114) that ‘all teachers be researchers in the classroom; not in order to publish, but in order to reflect on and improve teaching.’ In fact, my research journey was initially hampered by my failure to disentangle and clarify my role as a teacher from that of researcher, to such an extent my initial research barely amounted to a longwinded report of the classroom activities. This report writing failed to capture the dynamism of the class group, its sense of collectivity, its communitarian aspirations, and the rhythm, joy, and humour of the both self-deflating and boasting dialogue.

Therefore, I was keen to develop a methodology that would focus more on learners’ voices and, in particular, incorporate two related strands. Firstly, one that acknowledged the notion of praxis inherent in the Freirian (Freire 1972: 28) tradition, to which my agency, the Adult Learning Project (ALP) complied.

Secondly, I was keen to give “voice” to learners who used the medium of football to transcend the social context in which they found themselves; a context marred by violence, social inequality, poor diet, drink and drug abuse, and one which ensured Scotland was awarded the accolade of worst in the developed world in all these categories (Mooney and Johnstone 2000, Mooney and Poole 2004, Law and Mooney 2006, Smith, Hunter, Blackman, Elliott, Greene, Harrington, Marks, Mckee, and. Williams 2009).

Giving 'voice' to learners, however, did not always prove to be straightforward, and unexpected findings and issues arose whilst carrying out the pilot study. For example, two of the adult participants' mothers, without warning, sat in on the interviews, which effectively muted the learners. The reason for the unexpected attendance of the mothers was partly, I think, due to the negative stigma felt by families who have adult offspring who struggle with literacy and numeracy and have attended special schooling. Whilst seemingly undramatic, these interventions drew attention to the contradictions in my role as researcher. They also assisted me to focus on what Cameron (2001: 21) describes as a lack of 'equal discursive rights' in our society. These are associated with cultural differences and power inequalities. For example, the families perceive me to have authority and this is partly based on their experience with the education system.

However, the issue of power inequalities was a theme generated not only by the intervention of learners' mothers, but indeed permeates the entire socio-historical context of adult learners from the urban working class in 21st Century Scotland.

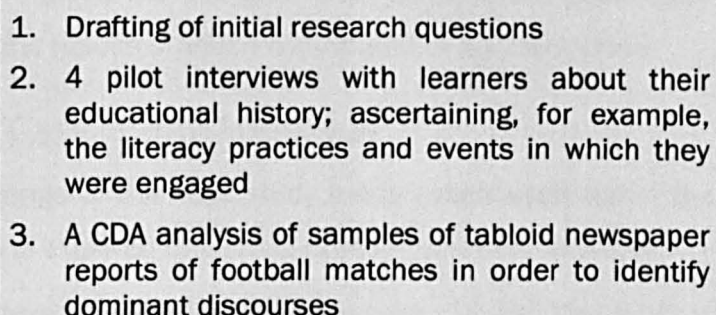
The task in my research journey was now how best to develop a methodology in order to draw out and capture the tempo, the oppression and the transcendence which football gives to these lives.

I was keen to understand how learners' lives were constructed, and that their positioning was not just a matter of accident and chance. I was interested in how language was used to construct their lives and referred back to my readings of Paulo Freire.

Taylor (1993:35), when discussing the influence of Lucien Febvre on Freire's methodology, suggested that 'Freire's explanation of the development from naive to critical consciousness in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is a development of Febvre's categorisation of consciousness, and the technique of *decoding* in the Culture Circles is effectively a specific application of discourse analysis.'

This Freirian influence, I thought, seemed to be successful in getting learners to speak about what they knew and to actively participate in the GDFLP classes. I was eager, as a researcher, to somehow document, archive and represent the success of the GDFLP experience. I was also keen, as Luke (2002: 105) suggests, to 'refer to the possibility of what Freire and colleagues term "emancipatory" discourses: those forms of talk, writing, and representation that are counter-ideological and act to articulate and configure collective interests in transformative ways.' In other words, my aim in my study was to engage not only with what learners' reported but also with their specific forms of expression as engagement, a challenge I discuss below in Sections 4.16 and 4.17.

Figure 4.1 Chronology of my Research Journey

- 
1. Drafting of initial research questions
 2. 4 pilot interviews with learners about their educational history; ascertaining, for example, the literacy practices and events in which they were engaged
 3. A CDA analysis of samples of tabloid newspaper reports of football matches in order to identify dominant discourses

4. Using tests in order to answer my initial research question
5. Revising research questions
6. Making decisions about central methodology: semi structured interviews and participant observation in order to develop 6 case studies

My interest in language and decoding behind the impulse to carry out discourse analysis into the texts which influenced the adult learners (Figure 4.1: *Chronology of my research journey*) came about through the Freirian influence on me and its application of discourse analysis techniques such as the decoding of the photograph of the Scottish Fans pulling down the Wembley goalposts in 1977 in GDFLP classes (Appendix 1). This impulse was reinforced by the results of the first four semi-structured pilot interviews in which all interviewees said that they read a tabloid newspaper, concentrating on football match reports. Based on this, it encouraged me to identify, and indeed expand, my own understanding of the dominant discourses within the tabloid media.

It is important, in terms of my research journey, to emphasise that the pilot research – steps 1-4 in Figure 4.1 - became the preliminary part of my findings, the results of which contributed to my main study.

4.3 A Case Study Approach

The challenge of the case study model when used within the qualitative approach is explored by Gerring (2007: 01) when he states,

there are two ways to learn to build a house. One might study the construction of many houses – perhaps a large subdivision or even hundreds of thousands of houses.

Or one might study the construction of a particular house. ... the first approach is a cross-case method. The second is a within case or case study method. While both are concerned with same general subject – the building of houses – they follow different paths to this goal.

My research, then, adheres to Gerring's second method, the within case or case study method. The use of case study is appropriate for my research for several reasons. Yin (2003: 02), for example, points out, the 'need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena'. This links with Fowler and Mace's (2005) stress, discussed in Chapter 3, on the complexity in the understanding of representation of lives of adult learners.

Moreover, Yin (2003: 02) argues that the case study method allows for retention of 'holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events', thus emphasising the importance of context which is an experiential theme permeating the social practice approach to literacy learning. Also with reference to the epistemological nature of context, Flyvbjerg (2006: 222) states 'Context-dependent knowledge and experience are at the very heart of expertise. Such knowledge and expertise also lie at the centre of the case study as a research and teaching method'.

Indeed, Flyvbjerg (2006: 222) maintains that the inability to assimilate case study research entails a failure to move from beginner to expert, and points to a severe limitation of analytical rationality. Again, on an epistemological note, Flyvbjerg (2006: 223) maintains that social science cannot exist without 'concrete, context-dependent knowledge.' The epistemological value of using a single case is further strengthened by Mitchell's (1984) conceptions of the 'telling case' and analytic induction.

The epistemological validity of the 'telling case' is illustrated in my study by a particular focus on Steven James (SJ) whose extraordinary knowledge of football catalyses, for the collective of GDFLP learners, personal reminiscences of Scottish social history.

Criticisms of the qualitative case study approach are well documented (Miles and Huberman 1984; Silverman 2000; Flyvbjerg 2006; Gerring 2007) with perhaps the most common being that one 'cannot generalise on the basis of an individual case' (Flyvbjerg 2006: 219) and therefore the case study 'cannot contribute to scientific development' (Flyvbjerg 2006: 221). Several advocates of the qualitative approach address the criticism about lack of generalisability in case study research.

Silverman (2000: 102), for example, argues that generalisability can be obtained through the application of purposive sampling, theoretical sampling, and a combination of qualitative research with quantitative population. My research is a combination of purposive and theoretical sampling.

With reference to the purposive nature of the sampling, the parameters of the population I was targeting was occupational social class 5, male hard-to-reach learners that make up the majority of male adult literacy learners (ALNIS 2001 a) and football fans in Scotland (Jarvie 2003, 2007; Giulianotti 1999, 2005).

My sampling is based on the theoretical premise, promoted by ALNIS (2001 a), that social class is the key determinant of lack of literacy acquisition in the general population of Scotland.

Indeed, Silverman (2000: 102) says,

For a few writers who see qualitative research as purely descriptive, generalisability is not an issue. For example, Stake refers to the 'intrinsic case study' where 'this case is of interest ... in all its particularity and ordinariness' (1994. 236).

A key aim in my research was to attempt to capture some of the 'particularity and ordinariness' of learners' lives. I use the qualitative case study approach both as a unit of data collection, which here is at the level of individual learners, and as a unit of data representation, as in chapter 5 where I construct case studies out of a range of different kinds of data. Case study as methodology of collection, analysis and representation offers a way into complex lives of adult literacy learners.

4.4 Initial Research Questions, Pilot Study and a CDA Analysis

Initial research questions

As stated in Chapter 1, my goal in this thesis is to explore the experiences of learners who participated in the GDFLP. The thesis is the result of my particular research history, which shifted focus over time, in terms of key research questions and method. My initial research question was:

Does the GDFLP have a beneficial effect on learners' critical and functional literacy acquisition?

My sub-questions were:

1. What are the dominant football discourses in the tabloid press?
2. How are the dominant discourses internalised in adult learners?
3. What is the impact upon learners of being subjected to alternative discourses?
4. What is the impact upon learners' development of functional literacy skills?

In order to explore these above questions I first carried out a pilot study involving a series of semi-structured interviews. From the data collected by these interviews, it became clear to me that a second layer of investigation was required.

This was achieved by carrying out a Critical Discourse Analysis of newspaper articles, which I discuss below.

Semi structured interviews

The Pilot Study was based on four semi-structured interviews with GDFLP participants involving the following nine questions:

1. Tell me about your educational history? E.g. primary school; secondary school etc.?
2. Did you enjoy school?
3. When did you start getting interested in football? Did you play at school / boys club?
4. What team do you support and why?
5. What newspapers do you read / look at?
6. What television programmes do you watch?
7. Do you have access to a computer at home?
8. Do you use texting on your mobile?
9. Do you think the Glory and Dismay has helped your reading and writing skills?

For the purposes of my focus here on my research journey, the responses to Question 5 became important in that they highlighted that interviewees all read a tabloid newspaper mainly for football coverage (Appendix 2) which, I felt, demanded a methodological analysis in order to answer my Research sub-question 1. The analysis I decided to use was Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

I was, in the light of my initial research questions, keen to investigate the way the football genre is presented as an authoritative discourse. Moreover, I was eager to investigate what Maybin, (2003: 159) describes as 'intertextuality', or the use of links and references to create a dialogue between texts. In other words, the manner in which the co-ownership of discourses which surround football, are in dialogue form, and are linked with discourses such as Islamophobia, nationalism, homophobia and sectarianism. I identified newspapers learners referred to and collected a two-day sample (March 2007), All newspapers except for the "Express", had a picture and a headline relating to the Celtic vs. AC Milan Champions League game on Wednesday, 7th March 07. I selected one article about the defeat of Glasgow Celtic by AC Milan, 8th March 2007 in the *Daily Record* (It is reproduced in Appendix 3) which I subsequently I analysed as a communicative event in terms of *discourse practice* and text, an outline of which I provide here.

Discourse 'events', according to Fairclough (1992: 04), are seen as being simultaneously 'a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice and an instance of social practice.' Discourse events, therefore, are specific "instances", such as the coverage of the Celtic / Milan football match (Appendix 5).

The *discourse event* (Fairclough 2003: 137) here is complex, in the sense that it conflates various features; the discourse of 'conflict and military campaigning'; the discourse of consumption; and the informal, colloquial language of private life. Following Fairclough (1995), I carried out *intertextual analysis* of the text.

This analysis looks at the text from the perspective of discourse practice, aiming to unravel the genres and discourses, which are articulated together within it. Most obviously here, I focused on the text as instantiation of discourses of sports news⁶. What is striking about the text is its use of colloquial discourses, which also suffuse the rest of tabloid texts. These colloquial discourses draw upon the language and rhetoric peculiar to Scottish Football.

For example, the headline “GORD SO PROUD OF HIS BATTLING BHOYS” makes use of the word “bhoys”⁷, the official nickname of Glasgow Celtic Football team, and taps into the colloquial discourses surrounding Irish-Scottish constructs, myths and ideologies. By this, I mean that Celtic Football Club has become, both in Scotland and Ireland, a vehicle for the celebration of Irish / Scottish identity. This construct is problematic, however, and is, in part, a response to anti-Irish racism that has existed in Scotland and the UK since the mass Irish immigration of the late 19th Century.

Fairclough (1992: 185) in his discussion on “Word Meaning” places ‘emphasis upon “key words” which have general or more local cultural significance. Words whose ‘meanings are variable and changing; and upon the meaning potential of a word – particular structuring of meanings – as a mode of hegemony and a focus of struggle’. These meanings covertly reinforce a number of themes, which have the effect of constructing “selves”, or social identities.

6 All forms of Sports programming including coverage of a Sporting event; Sports magazines and highlights; and separate Sports News or results programmes covering items or reports about current Sporting events. Sports items within News programmes are shown as News. (Source: Definitions of genres and sub-genres, OfCOM)

7 The club is officially nicknamed ‘The Bhoys’. The full name of the club is The Celtic Football Club.

The use of “Gord” infers intimacy, used in, perhaps, a family setting. and this technique is used again when the author suggests “No coconuts for guessing”. The author draws in the audience through familiarity. As Fairclough (1995: 71) highlights, this is not by accident, as ‘the newspaper, by using it, implicitly claims co-ownership, with the audience, of the world of ordinary life and experience from which it is drawn, and a relationship between newspaper and audience’. These generative themes are underpinned by a set of assumptions about the knowledge or social practices, which are attributed to the audience. The newspaper assumes that the audience, for example, is able to understand the shorthand and codes about Scottish Football and the distinctions surrounding it.

Moreover, the use of ‘Battling’ reinforces the conflictual theme generated throughout the article. These are: ‘they licked their wounds’; ‘he was defiant’; ‘like his heroes’; ‘incredible heart and determination’; ‘rifle a shot’; ‘an important weapon’. The metaphor of “conflict and battle” is also significant in terms of the newspaper’s embedded claim to a relationship of solidarity and common identity with the audience.

Fairclough (1995: 71) points out that these discourses ‘draw upon war as an evocative theme of popular memory and popular culture, claiming to share that memory and culture.’

The metaphor also links this text *intertextually* to popular media coverage of “leadership, stewardship, heroism” (Fairclough 1995: 71) over a long period, where representation of the issue of war and conflict is a standard metaphor, thereby effectively reinforcing notions of solidarity and common identity. These claims take on questionable features when linked to the more overtly ideological content of the rest of the tabloid newspapers.

The deferment to the “spectacle of the celebratory” is an obvious example which links to some of my theoretical positioning about population management and Guy Debord’s notion of the *Society of the Spectacle* (1967), discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.6) My analytical objective here was to characterise the metaphors used in the genre of sports news, and to consider the effect of metaphors upon the thinking and practice of adult learners.

In the theoretical framing of my pilot research, I was interested in the effects of discourse upon systems of knowledge and belief, social relations and identities. The CDA approach provided by Fairclough supplied the tools necessary to investigate the ways texts offer certain ideological and political perspectives. In defining the notion used by Fairclough of ‘discourse practice’, Wetherell *et al* (2001: 18) suggest the idea of the ‘the source of regularity’ which ‘people collectively draw on to organise their conduct’, and that these practices ‘are regular ways of doing things in talk – practices – which guide people and order discourse.’

Fairclough (1992: 234) identifies three dimensions of discourse practice: “Interdiscursivity” and “Manifest Intertextuality” which focus upon text production; “Intertextual chains” upon text distribution, and; “Coherence” which focuses upon text consumption. These are of significant importance when considering how the “discourse types” permeate the rest of the tabloid newspapers, through, for example, the notion of ‘Intertextual Chains’ (Fairclough 1992: 130-3).

Moreover, Fairclough (1992: 234) invokes the question; ‘Are the intertextual chains and transformations relatively stable, or are they shifting, or contested?’

The metaphors inherent in the 'sports news' text of "leadership, stewardship, heroism" and "battle and conflict" which effectively reinforce notions of solidarity and common identity, is however used in a different context within the same newspaper. (*Daily Record* Thursday, March 8 2007: 6). In the article from the same issue, 'Muslim guilty of Urging Murder', the theme of "battle and conflict" is used in a way to conjure up fear of the "other", through references to: 'Bomb, bomb, the UK'; 'Annihilate those who insult Islam'; 'He said the halal meat inspector saw himself as a "soldier"'; "Soldier of Allah".

The 'discursive type' that employs the metaphor of 'battle and conflict' in the Celtic / Milan game, now calls upon the notions of common identity and solidarity in order to marginalise and distance the 'other', in this instance, a disaffected young Muslim male. There is, therefore, 'cohesion' in the discursive type displayed here. Further, the discourse type employed is, I would argue, a relatively stable and recognisable one in both 'hard-news' and 'sports news' genres.

For the purposes of my initial research questions (Section 4.4), it was important to consider Fairclough's (1992 83-4) view of 'Coherence'. My aim in answering my pilot research questions was to look into the interpretative implications of the intertextual and interdiscursive properties of discourse samples. These could, he argues, involve the analyst in 'reader research'; that is, research into how the texts are actually interpreted. How then do the discourses of 'battle and conflict' and 'leadership, stewardship, heroism' affect the reader / adult learner and does this 'lead directly to intertextual dimensions of the construction of subjects in discourse'?

I wanted to explore whether or not the 'discourse samples' referred to above received resistant readings from the learners in the GDLP and therefore explicitly asked interviewees about this text as part of my semi structured interviews. Their responses are included in the case studies in Chapter 5.

While critical analysis of texts became less important in my study for this thesis (revised research questions in Section 4.7) I see my engagement with CDA as part of an ongoing aspect of my research journey (for Reflection - CDA and my 'Lived' Research Journey see Appendix 4), to understand, measure and assess how the respondents 'partially consent' (Hall, 1985: 118) to dominant discourses.

4.5 Initial Research Questions, Pilot Study and Literacy Tests

As stated above (Section 4.4), my initial research questions included:

Does the GDLP have a beneficial effect on learners' critical and functional literacy acquisition?

And the sub question:

- 4) What is the impact upon learners' development of functional literacy skills?

In order to answer sub-question 4) relating to GDLP participants' functional literacy acquisition, I engaged in considerations that mirrored the debates and tensions discussed in Chapter 3, surrounding what kinds of outcomes count when evaluating adult literacy programmes and their impact on learners. I was aware that those academic commentators who have significantly influenced the social practice approach adopted by the Scottish Government (Hamilton & Barton 2000; Hamilton 2001; Hamilton & Hillier 2007; Hamilton 2009) had argued against a particular kind of testing that draws on the psychometric measurement tradition.

Hamilton (2001:183) argues that 'testing in literacies is part of a global social ordering'. However, I had a nagging concern that perhaps standardised tests (linguistic, psychometric) might assist emancipatory literacy practice by highlighting some of the distances travelled by GDFLP adult learners, such as, at the most simple level, can the learner spell 'referee' after long-term participation in the programme?

Moreover, there are some worrying consequences of learners not having access to psychometric testing. For example, adult students in literacy and numeracy provision provided by City of Edinburgh Council are denied a psychometric test, which might in fact highlight specific learning disabilities, such as dyslexia. Moreover, in Chapter 3, I touch upon the competing policy discourses concerning assessment and testing that exist in the Scottish context.

On one hand, I refer to the HM Inspectorate of Education (HMIe) (2005: V) (also below) critique of reducing adult literacy programme outcomes to improvement in positive self-image.

However, on the other hand, leading Scottish adult literacy practitioners such as Macrae and Tett, (Hamilton, Macrae, and Tett 2001) maintain that standardised assessment testing drawn from the psychometric measurement tradition is distinct from the form of self-evaluation advocated by the Scottish Government. My research could I thought, perhaps utilise some the data obtained from my perceived 'rigour' inherent in the 'testing' techniques advocated by English agencies such as the Basic Skills Agency (BSA). I rationalised my argument by proposing that the results from assessment techniques should complement a qualitative understanding of literacies 'articulated' within the social context.

I was keen, therefore, to include testing as part of my research in order to use this tool to find out if we were making a difference in English language and literacy acquisition amongst adult learners. My plan therefore at the pilot stages was to try out the BSA (2002) *Initial Literacy Assessment* with the learners I was subjecting to a semi-structured interview.

This decision to use such tests was reinforced by my reading of the report by the HM Inspectorate of Education (HMIe) (2005: 10) *Changing Lives: Adult Literacy and Numeracy in Scotland*, which monitored and evaluated the impact of the £26 million made available to address their Adult Literacy and Numeracy targets. This proposed that:

Monitoring of progress and final assessment were not sufficiently rigorous or standardised to support reliable evaluation of learners' progress. Tutors focussed well on the outcomes of self-esteem and self-confidence but some did not measure sufficiently those literacy and numeracy skills required for learners to attain their desired learning outcomes.

The HMIe, therefore, was expressing the same concerns I had, especially in the context of the GDFLP.

I was aware, at the very least, that, the programme did seem to be managing to raise the self-confidence and self-esteem of adult learners- a theme that is evident in the case studies in Chapter 5 - I was concerned that the programme was deficient in its ability to measure gains in literacy competence. I, therefore, carried out four tests as part of the pilot.

Nevertheless, after carrying out the four BSA tests (2002) *Initial Literacy Assessment*, the experience findings proved more awkward than I had foreseen.

The semi-structured interview with *Fergus Keane* (FK) (pseudonym), and my request to him to complete the *Initial Literacy Assessment*, fundamentally changed my eagerness to carry out such tests.

When carrying out the interview I asked FK, ‘Tell me about your educational history? E.g. primary school; secondary school’ and *Did you enjoy school?* His answers (also ‘Transcription Key’, Appendix 5) are worth repeating, as they are significant, in the natural history of my research.

Extract from interview with FK

JP: Did you enjoy School FK?

FK: Mmmm No (Laughter)

JP: Why didn’t you enjoy school?

FK: Because I thought, it wasn’t ... it was taken disability out of me.

JP: It was taking the disability out of you?

FK: Yes!

JP: Could you describe your disability?

FK: My disability, well its classroom bullying. A was bullied at school!

JP: You were bullied at school?

FK: Yes, and that’s why A feel its taken it out of me and it’s stopping me from workin’ wae others that’s got that and I disagree because people that’s got a disability doesn’t mean to say they can’t do anything. They can!

JP: How would you describe your disability? Have you got a label for your disability?

FK: Epilepsy

JP: Epilepsy is your disability Fergus?

FK: Yes

JP: And you think that was the reason you were bullied at school because of your epilepsy?

FK: Yes

JP: So you would have epileptic fits at school?

FK: Yes!

JP: And that would make you different? Highlight you as different?

FK: Yes!

JP: So school ... right through from ... you were at school from 5 years old until you were 16?

FK: 18

JP: 18 and it's not a happy memory?

FK: No! It's very unhappy

JP: It's an unhappy memory! Could you describe some of these memories?

FK: Some of them are upsetting and some of them are cheery depends on the way you want to put it and ...

JP: So why don't you start with an upsetting memory of school and describe that in a classroom or ... and then we could end on a cheerier note?

FK: Well, the upsetting one was when A used to take fits regularly at school, it was always at school A took them because that's where the bullying ... it started and I felt that it took the disability right out of me and it put a 'phrase' on it and A' said tae masell. Naw, A'm goin' tae stop that. A'm goin' tae try and help people whose got that and make it make it a safer planet for people!

JP: A safer planet for yourself and others?

FK: Yes

JP: For your self and others right?

FK: Yes

JP: So in what form did the bullying take Fergus?
Was it physical violence?

FK: Aye liksae slappin; punching; kicking, all sorts o' things and I wouldn't wish it on anyone because it's no nice.

JP: Uh Uh and it's extremely difficult and it's extremely disheartening to be bullied and was it a gang of youths? Was it a gang?

FK: It was gangs from the same school who had disability as well.

JP: So the school you were at, was it a Disability school?

FK: Yes

JP: Uh Uh you went to a Disability school a Special school?

FK: Yes, a special school!

JP: Because of your ...

FK: Disability

JP: Because of your disability being epilepsy?

FK: Yes

JP: And that being ... and so it was other disabled people were bullying you?

FK: As well - as well as normal people!

JP: As well as people without a disability?

FK: Yeah!

JP: Were bullying you as well?

FK: And they weren't caring about people who had that - cause they were jealous because I could do more than what they could do!

JP: Right, right, so you were better academically: Yes! Better academically?

FK: Yes

JP: So you left school at 18?

FK: Yes

JP: And what were the good experiences at school? We've looked a wee bit at the bullying and stuff like that!

FK: The good bit was when I left (laughter) – that's when Ah ... that's the best probably bit A' would ever get – A' said tae maself, "Yes A'm getting' out of here – thank goodness for that – I won't need tae ever come in here ever again".

JP: So the best bit was when you left, that was when you were happiest?

FK: Aye!

From the above dialogue with FK it's obvious that bullying marred his experience of education, and the violence meted out to him was by fellow students who were both disabled and 'normal'. When I asked FK to carry out the test he looked defeated and isolated.

From his answers to the Basic Skills Agency (BSA) (2002) *Initial Literacy Assessment*, the reasons for his frightened demeanour became apparent. FK was unable to understand the questions, never mind answer the questions posed. While not all the participants in the Programme suffer from a learning disability, this experience forced me to look at alternative means to measure the levels of achievement of individuals, and to quantify improved possibilities for progression provided by literacies learning. What I learned from the semi-structured interview (illustrated in the extract above) made me feel that I was 'bullying' FK into doing the *Assessment* for the needs of the agency and for my needs.

I, therefore, in keeping with the inclusive ethos of the GDFLP and from the results of research into literacy testing (see below), decided to abandon the use of a formal test, such as the BSA (2002) *Initial Literacy Assessment* and to explore what alternatives existed for me to attempt to research the impact of the GDFLP on learners' reading and writing development.

The Fergus Keane case study led me to examine the literature surrounding the concept of literacy testing and ultimately to review and subsequently revise my initial research questions. In particular, I was keen to explore research about the *Initial Assessment, Literacy, Version 2* (BSA 2002) which is a form of literacy testing used by, amongst others, Employment Services (ES). This approach is highly contested at several levels (McNamara 1996; Shohamy 2001; McNamara and Roever 2006), such as those of: (i) validity; (ii) reliability, manageability and utility; and (iii) policy formation.

(i) At the level of validity, Hanauer (2009: 57), for example, questions whether the validity of standardised tests can actually be established. Hanauer (2009: 57) suggests:

What usually passes, as validity is the comparison of the test to externally defined standards (...) and other external grades or scores. While these attempts to establish validity are backed by an impressive discourse of scientific procedure and statistical reliability, the problem cannot be solved by these measures. Only a comparison between internal and external constructs will establish the validity of the literacy test.

Hanauer's critique would appear to support the social practice approach to adult literacy learning adopted in Scotland with his emphasis on the need for internal and external constructs to establish the validity of the literacy test.

(ii) As importantly, at the levels of reliability, manageability and utility, Brooks, Heath & Pollard (2005) attempted a comprehensive review of adult basic skills assessment instruments used in Britain. In their review of summative assessments, they included such instruments as the *Initial Assessment, Literacy, Version 2* (BSA 2002), which can be used at both the beginning and the end of a course. Brooks, Heath, & Pollard (2005: 12) point out that prior to their investigations very little such research existed on testing of adult literacy acquisition. Moreover, they (2005: 08) maintain that 'there appears to be no available British instruments for directly assessing the oracy skills of adults who are native speakers of English, and therefore all the literacy instruments reviewed were tests of reading and (aspects of) writing, with one partial exception.'

This omission is of importance to the GDFLP which emphasises the Freirian notion of 'speaking your' word as a starting point for literacy learning. Recent research from the United States emanating from Sticht (2005: 01), in particular, maintains that 'oracy-to-literacy sequence of training would seem desirable in teaching vocabulary and concepts to unskilled readers'.

Freire & Macedo (1987: 34) who argued that 'Learning to read and write means creating and assembling a written expression for what can be said orally' highlighted the value of oracy-to-literacy (Appendix 6 for summary of critique of standardised instruments for testing).

The alternative method I therefore adopted was to collect records of learners' achievements based on the Scottish Qualifications Authority's (SQA) SCQF (Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework) in Communication Level 2 & 3 (Section 4.10 for details).

4.6 The Main Study

As a result of undertaking the Pilot Study, as described 4.2 – 4.5, I made two decisions: 1) I included additional questions for my semi-structured interviews; 2) I set aside the BSA Literary Assessment tests and taking into account Brookes *et al*'s recommendations, I used the records of learners' SQA literacy assessment framework to consider their functional literacy development (4.11).

The data from the Pilot Study proved to provide a rich resource in helping me answer my revised research questions and is therefore included as a component part of my Main Study. For example, the results of two of the Pilot semi-structured interviews were used to construct two of the Case Studies represented in my findings in Chapter 5.

4.7 Revised Research Questions

Among the findings, the pilot study showed that interviewees had very poor experiences of education (Section 4.9), and in the main, had some form of learning difficulty (Section 4.9). It also showed that all the learners read the tabloid press to access football coverage (Appendix 2 Reading practices) despite self-assessed reading and writing problems.

Further, the learners felt confident that GDFLP was assisting them in their literacy acquisition (Chapter 5) and enjoyed their experience of GDFLP (Chapter 5)

In Chapter 3, I refer to what became the guiding influence of Fingeret's (1997: 109) own research journey and mirrored her eventual analytical reordering. In other words, what was secondary analysis – the focus on the students themselves and their experience of change – became her primary concern.

My own analytical reordering, influenced by Fingeret, involved a revision of my initial research questions. My main revised research questions now being:

1. What are the learners' experiences of the GDFLP?

My revised sub-questions being:

1. What do learners say about the impact of the GDFLP?
3. What meanings does the GDFLP have for learners?
4. How do the experiences of learners within the GDFLP connect with their previous literacy and learning experiences?
5. What progress in functional and critical literacy acquisition can be evinced using learners' accounts, researcher's observations and assessment materials?

I have laid out in Table 4.1 my revised research questions, methodology and describe the collected data.

Table 4.1: Overview of Revised Research Questions and the Methodology and Data collected in Main Study

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|---|--|
| Overarching research question: | | What are the learners' experiences of the Glory and Dismay Football Programme? | |
| Research Sub-Questions | | 1) What do learners say about the impact of the G and D Programme? 2) What meanings does the G and D programme have for learners? 3) How do the experiences of the G and D programme connect with previous literacy and learning experiences? 4) What progress in functional and critical literacy acquisition can be evinced using learners' account, researcher's observations and assessment materials? | |
| Method of data collection | Primary Data: Collected by me specifically for my research | Secondary Data: existing material used as additional data to explore the research questions | Data collected but not discussed in the thesis* |
| Semi structured interviews | 9 X 2/3 hr long interviews | Using the Learning Connections, Scottish Government, 'The Wheel' to represent the evaluation session for the Spartans term of the GDFLP. (Appendix 7) | Transcribed semi-structured interview with the author of the ALNIS Report. which continues to drive the Scottish Government's ALN strategy |
| Research Diary | 12 week Participant Observation Journal and insider knowledge | Film about the Programme made by Pilton Video on behalf of the Adult Learning Project | BSA Initial Literacies Assessment test: The 4 tests that were completed. |

| | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| | Results of the 'Reading' component of the SQA module in Communications Level 2 & 3. | Transcription of 2 evaluation sessions carried out at Spartan's Football Academy and Heart of Midlothian Football Stadium after a 13-week term, 4 th February – 30 th April 2009. | Transcription form SD's semi-structured interview |
| | | Pamphlet / Fanzine produced of the GDFLP's work published by Communities Scotland | |

4.8 My Revised Semi-Structured Interview Questions

The application of the CDA, and in particular the intertextual relationship between the tabloid sports coverage and their editorials, led me to add 3 questions to my semi-structured interview giving me 12 interview questions in total. Thus the semi-structured interview questions, which all participants were asked, were:

1. *Tell me about your educational history? E.g. primary school; secondary school etc.?*
2. *Did you enjoy school?*
3. *When did you start getting interested in football? Did you play at school / boys club?*

4. *What team do you support and why?*
5. *What newspapers do you read / look at?*
6. *What television programmes do you watch?*
7. *Do you have access to a computer at home?*
8. *Do you use texting on your mobile?*
9. *Do you think the Glory and Dismay has helped your reading and writing skills?*

And the additional questions that were asked of the 5 participants who were interviewed following the pilot were:

- *Do you consider 'us'⁸ to be at war with anybody? Hibernian, Hearts, England, Ireland, Islam, Terrorism etc?*
- *What do you not believe in the newspapers you read? Give me some examples? When asking question 'What do you not believe in the newspapers your read?' I showed the interviewee the Sun editorial (Appendix 8).*
- *Has the Glory and Dismay Programme made you consider other ways of looking at football, the world?*

I added the 3 new questions and the Sun Editorial prompt (Appendix 8) as I was keen to investigate the way the football genre is presented as an authoritative discourse.

This editorial, I felt, captured Fairclough's notion of fostering a relationship of solidarity and common identity with the audience by demonising illegal immigrants who were committing crimes in UK.

⁸ 'us' referring to the geographical community, community of interest, national community to which the learner feels he/she belongs

The sub-text, according to Fekete (2005: 01), amounts to a less keenly observed '(undeclared) War on Refugees' (my italics). In other words - are the discourses surrounding 'War, etc.' communicated through the Sports pages of the tabloid press reproduced and reinforced in the editorial, producing the notion of 'Coherence' as Fairclough (1992: 83-84) describes?

I was therefore eager to investigate firstly the manner in which the co-ownership of discourses, which surround football, are in dialogue form and are linked with discourses such as Islamophobia, nationalism, homophobia and sectarianism. Secondly, I was keen to understand learners' responses to such dominant discursive metaphors identified through CDA.

4.9 Data Collection: Semi-Structured Interviews

I originally interviewed four adult learners for my pilot research study. I interviewed the four respondents in their homes and each interview lasted at least two hours (Fig 4.2 for Interview Schedule). I subsequently interviewed another five participants, four of whom I interviewed in Tollcross Community Centre after unexpected issues arose (Section 4.12).

Figure 4.2 - Interview Schedule

| <i>Participants</i> | <i>Date of Interview</i> | <i>Length of Interview</i> |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Tony Graham | (TG) 15 th November 2006 | 2 Hours |
| Hugh Eskdale | (HE) 21 st February 2007 | 2 Hours |
| Tam Jackson | (TJ) 3 rd March 2007 | 2 Hours |
| Steven James | (SJ) 3 rd March 2007 | 3 Hours |
| Robert Stuart | (RS) 23 rd December 2007 | 2 Hours |
| Alan Murray Johnston | (AML) 10 th January 2008 | 2 Hours |
| Sandy Dunbar | (SD) 17 th January 2008 | 2 Hours |
| Mahmud El Jazzir | (MEJ) 7 th March 2008 | 2 Hours |
| Fergus Keane | (FK) 17 th April 2008 | 2 Hours |

The interview schedule above uses pseudonyms for the respondents for reasons of confidentiality (Section 4.13 'Ethics' for fuller examination below).

All interviews were recorded on audiotape, the results of which were transcribed. As Cameron (2001: 31) argues 'Without a *transcript* – a written / graphic representation – talk is impossible to analyse systematically.' I set out in Appendix 5 some transcription details and a language glossary, which highlights examples of the spellings of the Scots language, and some local Edinburgh dialects used by respondents.

I drew upon the autobiographical in-depth interviews approach advocated by Erben (1998), which allows respondents to trace the learning trajectories back to their early schooling and ranging widely over their learning experiences.

Moreover, I was interested in participants' educational experience and how it was 'articulated' through football culture. I asked respondents to narrate their educational experiences, which were, in the main, negative (4.1.3 Data Extract). This negative experience of school and their subsequent commitment to the GDFLP suggests that the school curriculum in Scotland could learn from a social practice educational method adopted by GDFLP.

4.1.3 - Data Extract

JP: Did you enjoy school TJ?

TJ: Naw, Naw, Naw, Naw

JP: Did you hate it? Or?

TJ: I didnae need it cause ya learnt nothing! Ya learnt nothing! The basic thing was goin tae school, because its they educational people, the government at that time would tell ya tae go tae school, because ya had tae go to school. Ya didnae want tae go tae school!

JP: It was compulsory to go to school?

TJ: Aye, but I still skipped like everybody else!

JP: So you skipped off school JT?

TJ: Aye, I would go and tell them I wanted to go off because I had to go somewhere! I would say I was goin to the toilet and I would be back in 5 minutes and I would just go out the door, on the bus and away! Don't go back!

JP: So how did you spend your day P3? Can you remember?

TJ: No exactly, I think either slept in a field or just lay in a field and had the sun and deliberately no bother about school for days or weeks. Ya didnae learn nothing, its too me, what's the hell the point, the good a? It's just an opinion and am opinion is, it's like what I said about digging wae a shovel and nae got a heed on it, your no getting anywhere, your naw goin tae get anywhere and yer wastin yer time! Yer in exactly the same position as I was in wae the school! Yer were wastin yer time, wastin the thought and wastin the idea and last but not least the breathing time oh yer life.

JP: If you did go to a class did you enjoy it JT?

TJ: Naw, Naw. It was cause of the lassies there! They would talk, blether a lot o shite, and if it wasnae about they fashion things they would talk about make up and it would drive me mad. I was glad tae get away tae hell oot the road.

JP: You were glad to skive off really?

TJ: Aye

JP: So school, JT, wasn't a great experience for you?:

TJ: No, No

The interviewees' response to *'Tell me about your educational history?* was unexpected. Three of the interviewees went on, to what was described by them, and by the two mothers present, as 'Special' Primary and Secondary Schools.

One attended Bonnington Primary and then Pilrig Park 'Special' Secondary School. Pilrig Park School is a Special School for secondary aged pupils with moderate to severe learning difficulties.

One attended St Nicholas Special School in Gorgi, Edinburgh. Another interviewee said, after attending Craigmillar and Niddrie Primary Schools respectively:

I didnae go to a Secondary, it was a Special school for slow learners, Glen Park I think it was cawed! Naw it was a 'Specialised' school, I think that was the pronunciation. That was the first one but there was one down at that fuckin shite you support?

The responses to the second question, *Did you enjoy school?* had a similar mix of replies. The three respondents from the 'Special' Schools said:

I did hate school (TG)

No really! I didnae like the people (HE)

Naw, Naw, Naw, Naw (TJ)

The discourses the respondents used to describe their educational experience were, in the main, oppositional. I perceived a sense of abandonment, personified in TJ's utterance as he described the fact that he 'slept in a field or just lay in a field and had the sun and deliberately no bother about school for days or weeks.' Three of the respondents talked about learning difficulties that were not addressed or assessed at school and their struggles to overcome these.

The issue of undiagnosed dyslexia and other learning difficulties became a theme for many of the respondents and learners on the GDFLP. The negative consequences of the high incidence of low literacy levels and learning difficulties in Scottish Prisons, for example, are acknowledged elsewhere (Adams 1999: Kirk and Reid 2001).

The autobiographical in-depth interview method, therefore, proved successful in allowing respondents to talk about difficult and painful memories and experiences of education.

4.10 Data Collection: Scottish Qualifications Authority's (SQA) SCQF (Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework) in Communication Level 2 & 3

To answer my revised sub-question 'What progress in functional and critical literacy acquisition can be evinced using learners' account, researcher's observations and assessment materials?' my research involved exploring literacy assessment materials (Section 4.5). Importantly, I was interested in Brookes *et al's* (2005) recommendation that, while assessing adult literacy, 'emphasis should be placed at what people can do, not on their weaknesses.'

In accordance with Brookes *et al's* (2005) recommendations, I adopted the Scottish Qualifications Authority's (SQA) SCQF (Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework) in Communication Level 2 & 3 literacy assessment materials which concerned 'mainly open-ended response types'; 'continuous prose'; and used 'pictorial stimuli'.

Such impetus was encouraged by the evaluation session at the end of the 12-week GDFLP term at Heart of Midlothian F. C., where learners said (Appendix 9) that they would like to do more quiet work on reading and writing. Moreover, both learners and volunteers raised the issue of accredited learning with some saying they would like the opportunity to engage in accredited learning.

One of the GDFLP volunteer literacy tutors was being trained by CLAN (City Literacy and Numeracy Project) to deliver these SQAs in Communication Level 2 & 3.

The volunteer explained that the course, if learners were interested, would be adjusted to a suitable football context (Appendix 9) and that the way the course:

will work is that the first half will be just like this – a discussion then everybody has to go and do their own thing, it won't be group work! Because eh... you need to produce your own evidence. A group might be sittin' round a table but they will all be doin' their own individual exercises.

Ten of the learners said they would be interested in enrolling for the Reading component of SCQF Communication Level 2 & 3 and GDFLP then ran a five-week course, 14th May – 11th June at Hearts F.C.'s Stadium. 8 of the 10 learners subsequently completed the component, with 2 dropping out due to unforeseen circumstances.

Of the 6 case studies accounted for in this research, 4 out of 6 completed the SQA 'Reading' component which demonstrated a positive impact on learners literacy acquisition.

This success was marked in the Celebratory event, 12th September 2009 Tollcross Community Centre, when the Scottish Justice Minister, Kenny MacAskill presented 20 students with GDFLP Course completion certificates and 8 students with the SQA awards. The results of the 5-week course provided evidence of functional literacy acquisition using a social practice approach (Appendix 10 for example of SQA course materials)

4.11 Data Collection: 'Participant Observation Journal' (POs) from 12 week GDFLP Term and 'Insider Knowledge' Information

From early February – mid April I amassed data through a process of 'Participant Observation', whereby, after having taught the GDFLP at Spartans F.C. on a Tuesday evening and at Heart of Midlothian F.C. on a Thursday evening, I returned home, typed up my research notes; my memories and observations; and GDFLP Evaluation Statement Cards⁹. The entire 'Participant Observation Journal' amounted to 23,000 words and an extract is provided in Appendix 11. The Journal provided observations, comments, reflections and notes of people's utterances. The Statement Cards were organised at the end of class when adult learners were asked to write either a word or a sentence to critically evaluate the evenings' class, which are part of the POs.

The reason for keeping such a journal was to complement my semi structured interviews and as an example of my ongoing collection of 'insider knowledge' (Gitlin, A. *et al*, 2002). This ongoing collection included keeping a journal of my experiences, oral inquiries, conversations with learners, and other adult literacy practitioners. This insider knowledge is part of, according to Gitlin, A. *et al*, (2002: 304) a 'new and expanded view of legitimate knowledge.' I gathered this insider knowledge while working in and, at the same time, researching the context of the GDFLP. I draw on the journal and other examples of insider knowledge in reconstructing the narrative and mixed genre orientations in Chapter 5.

9

GDFLP Evaluation Statement Cards: After every class, learners were asked to write up how they felt the class had gone.

This ongoing collection of insider knowledge, of which my POs are part, are an explicit attempt to make the familiar strange. In other words a way of seeing with fresh eyes people and events which may be very familiar – to sharpen my attention to detail.

4.12 Unexpected Issues Arising from Main Interviews

In the Pilot study, I interviewed the first four respondents in their homes. The first respondent of the second cohort (Figure 2), RS, invited me to do the interview in his house in a relatively deprived area in Edinburgh the weekend before Christmas. This was to suit my needs, as I wanted to begin the interview schedule as soon as possible. I was taken aback by the poverty of the household. I should have not have been so surprised given I had worked in the area, on and off, since 1981. I had forgotten how ravaged the neighbourhood was by poverty.

There were three dogs in the living room balcony of the house situated in the tenement block and their barking made the recording difficult at times. The number of dogs in a household is common in poorer geographical areas as a means of warding off potential break-ins.

In the 1980s, a tenant was guaranteed a substantial number of break-ins partly because of poverty and high usage of heroin. Again, in retrospect, the kind invitation into people's homes may expose them to shame and further unnecessary suffering. The remaining 4 interviews took place, in light of the above, in Tollcross Community Centre, where I work. I carried out these interviews at my workplace because, with hindsight, going into learners / respondents homes may present me with the dilemma of having to report the household to Social Services, having inadvertently discovered issues of child protection or neglect.

The experience in RS's home motivated me to look more closely at the issue of Ethics (Section 4.13) and, given I was in RS's home to satisfy my research needs, the politics of transcription and representation.

4.13 Ethics

Any qualitative researcher who is not asleep ponders moral and ethical questions: Is my project really worth doing? Do people really understand what they are getting into? Am I exploiting people with my "innocent" questions? What about privacy? Do respondents have a right to see my report?

What good is anonymity if people and their colleagues can easily recognise themselves in a case study? When they do, might it hurt or damage them in some way? What do I do if I observe harmful behaviour in my cases? Who will benefit and who will lose as a result of my study? Who owns the data, and who owns the report? The qualitative literature is full of rueful testimony in such questions, peppered with sentences beginning "I never expected ..." and "If I had only known that ..." and "I only belatedly realised that ..."

"We need to attend more to the ethics of what we are planning and doing. As Mirivis and Seashore (1982) say, "Naiveté [about ethics] itself is unethical" (p.100).

Miles & Huberman (1984: 288)

Before the interviews, I explained to the participants that transcripts of their conversation might appear in published work. I pointed out that they would have a chance to comment on my analyses and representation of them before publication. I further explained that I would give both the informants themselves and anyone else they speak about, changed initials in the transcript and in my own analytical comments.

Moreover, I explained if the work was published then I would inform them and go through the details with both them and their families.

Further, the matter of me being a teacher and researcher made access to the interviewees easier but may have blurred the subject of what Cameron (2001: 23) describes as '*informed consent*'. I devised an information sheet for service users / learners (Appendix 12) and read this out to the participants.

Nevertheless, I have known the respondents for a minimum of one year and I have a professional teaching relationship with them. They were keen, I felt, to engage in the interviews because, as SD stated in a mobile phone text reply to me when asked if he would participate, "ANYTHING FOR THE CAUSE" (his use of capitals). I think SD meant that he would do anything for the GDFLP partly because he perceived that he was benefiting from the programme.

Fears about interviewees' amenability to interview and their vulnerability to manipulation and exploitation have been resolved through my commitment to respect the respondents' confidentiality and privacy, and to recognise the ongoing concerns about reinforcing shame and self-blame. My case studies in Chapter 5 dispel, I think, my fears that this research process has reinforced feeling of shame and self-blame when respondents describe their positive feelings about the GDFLP and reflect upon their positive roles.

In Chapter 3, I commented upon the centrality of Fingeret *et al*'s (1994, 1997) work, partly because she (1997: 81) recognises the subject of shame and self-blame that adult literacy learners have internalised and feel.

In their concluding remarks Fingeret *et al* (1997: 107) recognise 'that strong relationships inside and outside the program, as well as effective instruction, help learners transform their shame and self-blame, and develop positive identities connected to new literacy practices.' In my research experience, the converse might be true. I was concerned that, through exposure from my own research, learners' lives could be subjected to unwanted scrutiny, thereby revealing the shame of poverty and deprivation along with the shame of having difficulties in learning to read and write.

4.14 Transcription and Representation

My engagement with the issue of Ethics led me to examine issues surrounding transcription, such as 'how to record' and the 'politics of representation', as transcriptions are one of my main data source and were one of my main 'research activities'.

As Shaw (2008: 01) argues 'transcription is not a neutral exercise in which features of an interaction are objectively identified. Transcriptions necessarily correspond to a researcher's interests and what they see as the analytical potential of their data, as well as their beliefs and values.' In fact, as Silverman (2000: 131) points out, 'the preparation of a transcript from an audio-tape or a videotape is a theoretically saturated activity.' In my view, the issue of representation most relevant here that of writing up' research findings is increasingly being a focus of debate. Assumptions of about conventional ways of reporting findings are being challenged (Schroeder *et al.* 2002). In representing my findings in Chapter 5 I have had the following principles in mind, that is, to give voice to learners using their Scots language.

My own representations of the transcriptions I made from the audiotapes were initially inundated with issues of power. For example, I presented myself in bold font, speaking Standard English and the respondent replies in standard font in Scots and this is represented in Data Extract 1.3 when asking respondent SD about his reaction to the Tabloid editorial (Appendix 8). The issue of Scots language comes to the fore when representing 'Narrative' below. However, my, albeit unconscious, use of Standard English to represent myself, highlights my occupational class position and represents my status as both teacher and academic researcher.

I use Scots but not to the same extent as the learners. As Macaulay (2005: 21), points out, that while 'most Scots reveal their Scottishness through their speech, it is the working class speakers who display the most marked features.'

4.1.4 - Data Extract

What do you think of that statement P7?: (laughter)
... No it's em... A' totally sympathise wae the article
... A' find it ... it's very true ... very true ... A' think ...
you know ... It's what A' dislike aboot eh... lettin' in
immigrants ... yeah welcome tae Scotland and eh...
England and the UK ... Yeah welcome you know but
eh... they've got tae behave themselves!

I subsequently decided on the importance of transcribing features of Scots to give a strong flavour of the language learners' use of language in representing their voices in Chapter 5.

Although I am not aiming to give a full or phonetic representation of their talk, I considered it important to capture the eloquence, rhythm, humour, poetry and joy that surround their utterances. I do it out of respect because I understand that language is a deeply political construct and those who struggle with literacy difficulties in the dominant discourse are marginalised, ignored and individually powerless. Macaulay (2005: 21) makes the salient point that while 'most Scots reveal their Scottishness through their speech, it is the working class speakers who display the most marked features.

Working-class speech in lowland Scotland thus has a double function: 1) to affirm Scottish identity and separateness from the English; and 2) to affirm working-class loyalty and distance from middle-class values.' In Chapter 5, therefore, I try to give 'voice' to Scottish working-class learners' identity and culture, in part by clearly using features of Scots. The language glossary I have developed during my research is in Appendix 5.

4.15 Representing the Findings: A Profile of the 6 Case Studies

The six case studies in Chapter 5 are presented as mixed genre narratives. While it may seem unnecessary to qualify the term 'narrative' with 'mixed genre' given that narratives are acknowledged as always involving multiple genres, such as accounts, descriptions, commentary (Fludernik 2000).

I refer to the case studies in Chapter 5 as mixed genre in that they are made up of actual utterances from the primary and secondary data outlined in Table 4.1, including utterances from semi-structured interviews and narratives recounted by learners in interviews, reconstructed events by me drawing on participant observation journal, commentary I draw from academic texts.

Brief profiles of the learners represented in the case studies in Chapter 5 are provided in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3 - Profiles of Case Studies

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Description</i> | <i>Case study details</i> |
|----------------------------|---|--|
| Steven James (SJ) | West Coast Scottish male in early 60s with encyclopaedic knowledge of football. Rangers supporter. Every quotation attributed to him was either audio recorded or written down in my Participant Observation Journal thereby establishing validity. | Account made up of 3-hour interview carried out in his house; participant observations; and some comment drawn from literature. |
| Alan Murray Johnston (AMJ) | West Coast Scottish male in late 50s. Rangers supporter | Account made up of 2-hour interview carried out in Tollcross Community Centre; participant observations; and some comment drawn from literature. |
| Fergus Keane (FJ) | Edinburgh male in late 30s with learning disabilities. Hibernian supporter. | Account made up of 2-hour interview carried out in Tollcross Community Centre; participant observations; and some comment drawn from literature. |

| | | |
|------------------------|---|---|
| Robert Stuart (RS) | Edinburgh male in early 20s. Rangers supporter. Joined the class because he 'just loved playing football' and recognised the opportunity to assist in organising the GDFLP football team. | Account made up of 2-hour interview carried out in his house; participant observations; research observations and some comment drawn from literature. |
| Tam Jackson (TJ) | Edinburgh male in mid 50s with a learning difficulty. Heart of Midlothian supporter | Account made up of 2-hour interview carried out in Tollcross Community Centre; participant observations; and some comment drawn from literature. |
| Mahmud El Jazzir (MEJ) | Libyan male in late 20s. Ahly supporter. Joined GDFLP to satisfy his desire for community and to learn English. | Account made up of 2-hour interview carried out in Tollcross Community Centre; participant observations; and some comment drawn from literature. |

Every attributed quotation, in the 6 case studies was either audio recorded or written down in my Participant Observation Journal. I, however, have imposed my re-construction on the sequence of events.

I decided not to construct a series of narratives from two (TG & HE) of the semi-structured interviews because, while being adults, the responses to my questions were answered by their mothers amounting to a displaced, secondary narrative. Finally, I did not use one of the semi-structured interviews as a case study because the participant (SD) left the course almost immediately after allowing me to interview him.

‘Narrative’ to give Voice to Learners’ Experiences; The Importance of Stories

Narrative is central to this thesis on two levels; firstly as an analytical tool for making sense of learners’ accounts in interviews; and secondly as a representational tool, that is, as a meaningful way representing my findings, drawing on a range of data sources, including learners’ own narratives. As an analytical tool, narrative was useful for identifying the importance and nature of stories in learners’ accounts in interviews.

As a representational tool, narrative is also central in this thesis. Findings are presented in the form of a series of case studies in Chapter 5, which are constructed from transcribed interviews, from my participant observations, or from transcribed evaluation¹⁰ sessions.

Atkinson (1990: 104) suggests that there ‘are many ‘stories’ and story-like elements within the ethnographic corpus’ in which the ‘ethnographic interview and the more casual fieldwork conversation are more or less deliberately contrived occasions when story telling is facilitated.’ My semi-structured interviews were certainly contrived occurrences, however, as Chapter 5 demonstrates, they facilitated the unleashing of story telling. In the same way, I draw on learners’ stories alongside some academic comment to construct a mixed genre narrative account. These accounts are made up of audio-recorded interviews, POs, research observations and academic literature, but I constructed the sequence of events.

¹⁰ Transcribed evaluation sessions: the learners’ collective voice is transcribed from an audio-recording of two evaluation sessions carried out at Spartan’s Football Academy and Heart of Midlothian Football Stadium after a 13 week term, 4th February – 30th April 2009. These sessions sought to look at the strengths and weaknesses of every class and collectively revise accordingly.

The series of narratives I produced, by means of systematic data collection, does not mean, according to Erben (1998: 13) 'that the findings of an analysis will be a perfectly replicated life but rather that the project is a serious matter, involving detailed empirical findings, imaginative reconstruction, a sense of history, observations upon morality and the exegesis of everyday existence.'

4.16 'Narrative', Reliability and Validity

From the perspective of research methodological issues, I agree with Hale, Snow-Gerono, & Morales (2008: 1416) who propose that 'Unlike traditional writing or research, narrative inquiry does not rely on numbers or triangulation of data to achieve validation; rather *plausibility*, or persuasiveness of the story is what narrative readers and researchers look for. Narrative is pervasive and important way of reporting experience.' I present plausible and pervasive representations that give 'voice' to the learner.

Hale et al (2008: 1416) further propose that 'Narratives cannot be generalised to a broader population as is typically done with more traditional genres of writing and research because stories are unique to each individual. Instead narrative writers and inquirers look for the *transferability* value of the story.' Does the story told, Hale et al (2008: 1416) ask, have the 'potential for relation to somebody else's world?' The narrative representations I construct relate directly to other learners and football fans.

4.17 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described the natural history of my research, followed by a discussion on my use of a qualitative case study methodology.

I discussed my initial research questions and pilot study and outlined how I arrived at compiling a prompt for interviewees using Critical Discourse Analysis. I then explained decisions made about testing adult literacy learners and interviewees. I described media discourses and investigation results, which resulted in additional interview questions with subsequent participants.

I outlined the revised research questions and the data that became the focus for my thesis and discussed issues surrounding data collection such as ethics, transcription and representation. My aim has also been to establish the theoretical justification for the use of narratives and to explain how they are used to represent learners in my findings. The decision to represent the learner in Scots is explained.

This was in order to capture their eloquence, rhythm, humour, poetry and joy that surrounds their utterances, and that it was done out of respect because I understand that language is a deeply political construct and those who struggle with literacy difficulties in the dominant discourse are already marginalised, ignored and individually powerless. I understand that their hopes and dreams might be channelled into a commercial representation of the 'beautiful game' that ultimately subjugates and oppresses them.

Chapter 5: Learners' Voices

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to give voice to the learners through a series of six case studies. It represents my findings from my research outlined in Chapter 4. The case studies represented and constructed here are made up of a mixed genre comprising of a series of narratives, using extracts of transcribed utterances from interviews, accounts and reflexive comments in my PO journal, and academic analysis and interpretation drawn from my reading. The interviewees 'speak for themselves', to a certain extent although I organise their narratives providing, thus, a meta-narrative within which to situate their own narrative accounts. A degree of arbitrary imposition, therefore, was necessary but decisions I made in constructing the case studies were driven by the goal of responding to my main research question:

'What are the learners' experiences of the GDFLP?'

In each case study, I offer some dimensions of an individual's life history and I represent how the GDFLP has influenced an individual participant's language and literacy engagement. Whilst the case studies centre on 6 individuals, they also illustrate how the individuals engage with and respond to the wider GDFLP group of learners. The case studies, thus, in some ways, reflect other individual learners, as well as group experiences, as others pick up their narratives and resonate with them.

The language used by the participants is Scots, except for one Libyan learner¹¹ and is situated in the cultural contexts of the individuals' lives and is the mechanism through which the participants' identity, emotion, stance, knowledge and ideology is constructed and reconstructed. I aim to offer, thus, a rich portrait of learners' lives, which captures their eloquence, rhythm, humour, poetry, and joy that surrounds their utterances. Moreover, I link this exuberance and passion for football with their literacy acquisition aspirations.

5.2 Steven James (SJ): "Where I get my inspiration is in the Glory and Dismay."

Enter SJ

Stan and I are sitting having our sandwich lunch in the old ALP office in Downfield Place in early 2004. Stan, my adult education colleague at the Adult Learning Project (ALP), is complaining about the current state of affairs and refers to the tabloid press he is reading when the doors bang open and in struts a white haired stalker man in his late fifties. "Whurs John Player an' the Glory and Dismay then? *Yuv nicked ma idea by the way!*¹²"

Stan pulled up his tabloid and hid behind the newssheets. "A wiz in the Save the Hearts shop an A seen yir leaflet an A thought bugger yous! That's ma idea and yir pinching ma idea!" The stalker Glaswegian hardly stopped for a breath.

11 Libyan Learner: MJ is a learner from Libya and I will be representing his speech in Standard English in Conclusions (Chapter 6). Nevertheless, it is apparent he has picked up some Scots literacy.

12 All quotations taken from transcribed interviews; participatory observations, research observations; and my representation of interactions. Reported speech as quotations which come from transcribed interviews is in italics while reported speech which is constructed out of my POs and insider knowledge are not.

“Mean A says tae Gary Mackay, the ex-Hearts Captain by the way, that’s ma idea an’ A’m goin’ doon tae tell them by the way!” I asked him if he’d like a seat and Stan moved over to his desk withdrawing from a situation he understood to be my responsibility. Sitting down, the irate visitor introduced himself as Steven James (SJ) and immediately started into a tirade. “Aw right, it’ll work better fir both parties if A share it wi yae! Mean yir pinchin’ ma bloody ideal!” *“A’ve just done this STEPS course in Wester Hailes an’ A’m wantin tae dae ma paintin’ plus writin’ about football. What is this ALP thing ony way? A didnae know nothin’ about ALP or the Adult Learning Projects or anythin’ like that. Aw A’ want to do is tae go somewhere an’ be wan o’ the crowd. Because A’ mean before ... em ... A’ didnae ... Mean ... A’ can ... well A’ can show ye aw ma newspaper cuttins. A’ can show aw the photographs. A’ have a fear ... em ... A’ didnae want that tae happin’ again. A’ didnae want me ... A’ didnae want me tae get thrown back in the front aw anythin’. You know so A’ wouldnae dae this or A’ wouldnae dae that you know. Em ... an’ like you say ... you know that ... it’s no like trying tae put one over or tryin’ tae be better than the next person ... A’ve got that knowledge ... A’ve got everythin’ that ...!”* Dtan disappeared further into the back of our single room, which was the main teaching, organising and administrative facility in Edinburgh’s ‘spam valley¹³’, Dalry.

“Would you like a cup of coffee or tea, Stan and I are just finishing off our lunch?” I asked. “Aye aw right then gies a cup of coffee then! A’m SJ by the way. *Mean A paint footballers* (Appendix 14).

13 spam valley: slang term to describe area of bought houses for first time buyers which prove expensive to the owners ensuring that they cannot afford anything other than spam.

Aw the greats. Maradona, Pele, Jinky Johnstone, the lot. A' skippered¹⁴ a couple o' year ago! A' know a' the terms. A lost ma memory!

Just memories. Though ... there's nothin' that will make me drink again. Nothin' will make me drink. Naw nothin' will make me drink. A've been aff the drink fir nearly thirty years and aff heroin fir thirty wan years but A wiz skipperin' cause A lost ma memory. It wiz the time say the millennium (2000) when A' went doon hill. ... these guys in the restaurant business were part o' that ... Aye, an' other things. But these guys who A' call predators or these people who A' call predators em ... One of these guys was too close fir comfort. So A' just says ... if it were up tae me A' would shoot them but A'm no wantin' tae get involved ... em ... an A'll leave it at that."

"Do you want sugar in your coffee" I asked. I was taken aback by the amount of information he was offering and Stan had dashed out the door.

"We're just starting up the GDFLP at Hearts of Midlothian Football Stadium along the road. It's a literacy class using football as the context to attract learners and get them to improve their reading and writing skills. Would that be of interest to you SJ?" I said. "A'm lookin' for an outlet" he replies. *"Talkin' aboot football A' can remember anythin'! 1953! 5 year old an' A' can remember the day as if it wiz yesterday. It wiz Kilsyth Rangers against Aberdeen Banks o' Dee an' it wiz the Scottish Junior Cup an it wiz the final at Hampden Park an A' wiz there wi ma Da'.*

Ma Da' wiz a football trainer. He actually trained Kilsyth Rangers. In thae days if you call a sponge an' a towel a coach ... he wiz a coach. An he used tae run on wi the sponge. An this magic sponge an' thir was nothin' on it A' didnae think.

14

Skipped: lived on the streets

He used to do that em... An' he had an involvement em... in the club. Yeah A' wiz 5 an' A' cun remember goin' intae the stand at Hampden an' everybody had the cups an' the old rattles an' they were all shoutin' fir Alex Queerie who wiz the centre forward at that time but Kilsyth got beat an em ... that got me intae football.

But not wi Kilsyth Rangers but wi ... A' went wi the local Kirkintilloch Rob Roy an A' managed tae see them in a couple of cup finals. Cause it's no the easy cup tae win. An' that took me an' a went tae Rangers as well. An' A' just loved football. Playin' in the park. Yir were playin wi the likes o' Willie Wallace, Jim Storie o' Leeds United, an' aw these top name players an' a even played in the same team as Walter Smith. But A' cannae remember Walter Smith. A' can remember the other ten but A' cannae remember ... that wiz Bishop Briggs Amateur's em ..."

"OK Mr SJ". I detected warmth and humanity in this belligerent character. "If you want to join the group it starts on 28th August (2004). Why not bring your paintings and we could use them as a 'code' to get new learners to talk about football, themselves and reading and writing?" I asked him. "Aye aw right but minds A' didnae want me tae get thrown back in the front aw anythin OK¹⁵? "OK Mr SJ! Ok SJ!"

Talking with Steven James in his Gaff / Hoose

3 years later, after SJ became a committed learner and contributor at the GDFLP, I was keen to interview SJ for the first time.

I asked SJ if he'd mind being one of the learners I interviewed to pilot a series of questions about the impact of the GDFLP. SJ agreed and on the 3rd March 2007, I took out my tape recorder.

15 JS feared being pushed into a leadership role as he was in his restaurants

SJ welcomed me into his flat on the 4th Floor of a tower block in Hailes Park in Wester Hailes on the outskirts of Edinburgh. As with most deprived areas on the periphery of Edinburgh, Wester Hailes has a reputation.

With this reputation in mind I kicked off saying, light-heartedly, "And you end up in Wester Hailes? Did you feel like you'd arrived in Saughton or Bar-L¹⁶ again when you arrived out here?"

"A didnae know what tae think! A thought it was the pits", he quickly snapped. I asked him if he had been frightened at the thought of living in Wester Hailes. *"Well A' had a ... A always owned ma properties!"* he replied. I continued on the theme "Was it because of the stigma of Wester Hailes?" *"Naw Wester Hailes didnae frighten me – A' knew Wester Hailes fae thirty years ago ..."*

My purpose in interviewing SJ was to find out the impact of the GDFLP on his literacy learning and acquisition. Having discussed with SJ his educational and football history I asked him if the programme had helped his writing? *"Yeah; Yeah Eh ... Cause before A' wouldnae write."* To restate my question I asked SJ if he thought the GDFLP has helped his writing.

"Well A'll tell ya – it's in a round about way right. When A' came here ... it's tae understand ... when A' came here A' didnae know anybody ... A' never went oot the hoose ..." "So before you went to the GDFLP you wouldn't write?" *"Naw A' wouldnae do anythin' ...tae let you understand ..."*

16

Saughton & Bar-L: HM Prisons in Edinburgh and Glasgow respectively

Fearing I wouldn't get specific answers to my line of enquiry about GDFLP's impact on SJ's literacy acquisition I asked SJ if the course was what he expected. He answered back "Eh ... well it's different every year

But it's different every year but A' enjoyed the first year ... well A' don't think there is much writin' in the First year ... But A' got introduced tae poetry an' since then ... A' brought the Shankley¹⁷ poem in and A' wrote a poem and it got printed by yursels in a wee booklet.

But it introduced me to poetry which A' wasnae really intae an noo when A' seen that it took me into Shankley's poetry which was a social thing about that era an that time an how he took his dream elsewhere and it's a sort of motivational poem ... eh ..." "an' and the people A' met A' loved. ..." I then again asked him if the course was what he expected. "Well see at the beginnin' A' don't know whit A' expected. A' can be interested masel' withoot ALP but then A' enjoy ALP! A' mean A' look at it as ALP is part ae ... ma life ... It wiz part o' me comin' back intae society ... because A' never went tae the paper. A' never went tae the paper then." I asked SJ if he meant 'The West Edinburgh Times, the Community Newspaper, formerly 'The Sentinel'. "Aye, The West Edinburgh Times ... A' went tae ALP an' through ma football A' got it ... published in the paper."

17

Bill Shankley: Former Liverpool F.C. Manager originally from West Coast of Scotland

SJ pronounced that his initial involvement with ALP, the umbrella organisation under whose auspices the GDFLP is run, enabled him to start writing and get his feature published in the Community Newspaper¹⁸. Offering the Newspaper a football feature established him, he claimed, as a volunteer in the West Edinburgh Times.

I asked SJ if he could now write for the Community Newspaper and he said "Oh A could - Aye. Oh, A could do the paper." I was taken aback by his confidence and asked him if he could now write and edit the paper. "Aye!" was his self-assured retort.

SJ versus Tom Purdie

Steven James (SJ) has made a unique contribution to ALP's GDFLP. His encyclopaedic knowledge about football has ensured that when a famous celebrity footballer such as John Colquhoun, Heart of Midlothian striker, failed to turn up the programme, we had the ideal understudy. Colquhoun failing to turn up and neglecting to send apologies for an event in the Spring session of GDFLP led to SJ standing in and he dazzled the class with his photographic memory. It was this memory of football that helped his recovery and put his life back together after, what he calls, the "turn of the millennium year zero zero. Mean ma memory went roond a boot then". SJ argued that in 2000 he was overwhelmed by the stress of "a divorce. A' had tae deal wae movin' hoose. A' had tae deal wae a new job. A had tae deal wae aw these predators an' it just got too much! An' apart fae that A wiz ill." SJ's ailments came to a crescendo in London when "Ma colon wiz bust open an' A collapsed in London."

¹⁸ Community Newspaper: Community newspapers are independent, locally run newspapers which rely on citizen journalists to highlight issues and stories of local interest. They are often set up by interested groups of residents and usually run on minimal funds.

The relationship between recovery, mental health and adult education has been investigated by Dutton, Haughton and James (2005: 23), amongst others. These authors argue that within the recovery approach:

individuals are encouraged to learn more about their experience and to find ways to deal with their mental health experiences. People are actively supported to acquire skills, knowledge and strength to reduce the prevalence of harmful experiences in safe, simple and effective ways.

It is about working out ways of helping themselves, taking responsibility and having hope.

SJ, it might be argued, is an example of how the social contextual approach to literacy which is based on the notion of Freire's (1997) *Pedagogy of Hope* might contribute and enhance recovery. According to Ana Maria Araujo Freire (1997: 205)

human beings, as beings endowed with consciousness, have at least some awareness of their conditioning and their freedom. They meet with obstacles in their personal and social lives, and they see them as obstructions to be overcome. Freire calls these obstructions or barriers "limit situations".

SJ's story is one of overcoming "limit situations". SJ has developed a critical perception of his "limit situations" by utilising and creating representations that relate to his most celebratory and positive life experiences, those that are clearly associated with football. For SJ football is, at times, associated with memories of sobriety and good mental health. SJ reminisces *"A didnae then ... anyway A' didnae drink at all and A' was more interested in getting a ball at ma feet an' goin' oot an' playin' football."*

A' knew a lot ae professional footballers fae Kirkintilloch. In fact we were talkin' about that the day – if you take the Celtic Inter- Milan final it was two Kirkintilloch men that scored the goals fir Celtic. Stevie Chalmers, who played fir Kirkintilloch Rob Roy, an' big Tommy Gemmell who lived in Kirkintilloch."

The positive recollections relating to football – alongside difficult life circumstances - were played out in a GDFLP class in the Heart of Midlothian Executive Suite, 19th March 2009 (Appendix 8: P07).

At the class, there were 19 participants, 3 workers, and 1 volunteer and the keynote speaker was Tom Purdie¹⁹. Tom Purdie started the evening in the Executive Suite with a data projector introduction to the work of the photographer Jim Rogers. Tom talked about a new presentation he had developed with pictures of Joe Baker (Turin); Gerry Baker (Hibernian); Jimmy Millar; Jim Cruickshank (now lives in Wester Hailes); Sandy Jardine; Ernie Winchester; Jimmy Greaves; Alex Young (Everton); John White (Tottenham Hotspur); Frank McLintock; Danny Ponton; Ian St John.

At appropriate points SJ stood up with autographed strips²⁰: autographed by Bert McCann; Jimmy Greaves; Denis Law and other great Scottish football players. SJ talked, at length, about how the hairs stood up on the back of his neck when he spoke to Denis Law. Tom then showed pictures of the now defunct 3rd Lanark side and in the picture, fans were driving into the ground on a motorcycle.

19 Tom Purdie: wrote 'Scottish Football: The Golden Years from the Jim Rogers Collection & Inside Scottish Football: Photographs from the Jim Rogers Collection

20 Football strip: shirt worn by football players that is uniform for their team.

Footballers were smoking and learners pointed out, when asked, the obvious health and safety issues. Both SJ and Tom talked about football as 'social history' (Tom's description) with Tom mentioning that at one point the old Hampden Park would attract 147,000 fans for a game.

When Tom left early because he had another appointment, SJ took centre stage and developed the theme of football as social history engaging other learners in his current investigations into such issues as the life and times of Bill Shankley, Lanarkshire boys clubs, and football cups specific to that area such as the Citizens Cup.

SJ, who kept saying he was "on a roll" after Tom's input, went on to discuss the players that had come from Bellshill such as Ali McCoist. SJ described growing up in Kirkintilloch, how his father had coached Kilsyth Rangers, his engagement with Campsey Black Watch.

SJ then talked about the wider social history that is closely connected to Scottish Football. He mentioned Betsy Semple who chaired the Temperance Society in 1919, which was closely linked to the Labour Movement and the Suffragettes. SJ talked openly about his father coming home from the pub and if his father had a Salvation Army paper and chocolates then he could stay up, if not he would get a beating. SJ described the event, in his semi structured interview, by saying *"well one day he wiz OK an' then ... well he hud a drink problem. The thing that we used tae dae wiz on a Friday night we used tae sit at the window an' if he had 'The Young Soldier', the Salvation Army paper, an' a box of chocolates we could stay up cause we knew he wiz in a good mood em ... if he cam' roon' the corner an' there wiz nuthin' then we went tae bed cause we got a kickin'. He had the livin' room an' we had to go intae the kitchen an' aw the plates got thrown against the wall an' smashed tae smithereens.*

But A' wouldnae say it wiz a common thing. A' wud say he had a problem you know. A' dare say he had resentments aboot whit he had done cause we always had new cutlery but A' dare say when A' wiz older A' wid get him back fir all the hurt he had done. Cause he used to have the big Pit belt hangin' o'r the door as well. Ah mean that wiz the era when if yu done anythin wrong yu got the big Pit belt. On the heed as well! A' used tae try an' fight him back but then when A' got tae the age of about 18 A' knocked him oot an' a broke his nose ..."

SJ argued that the Temperance Society was set up mainly by women to counteract this behaviour.

SJ talked about how alcohol was prohibited in Kirkintilloch, where he was brought up, *"Ma upbringing' in ma early teens tae late teens was in Kirkintilloch. There wasnae any pubs – it was a dry toon."* SJ informed the class that a Vito Poll is still taken to vote on wither the area becomes 'dry' or 'wet'. SJ said that Mount Vernon, in Glasgow, was still *"dry"*. SJ talked about how prohibition hadn't stopped sectarianism. SJ briefly outlined how sectarianism (Section 5.3) had impinged on his life. He said he supported Rangers *"Partly because A'm a Protestant an' ma Da' wiz high up in the Masonic Lodge an' em ... ye had aw these Eye's in wa' certificates an' the big G's an' it wiz ... ye were bought up Rangers. So I got a job in a tool room in MSC Switch Gears in Kirkintilloch. I honestly didnae want the job - A' would say then it was sectarian – there were plenty Catholic laddies wi' mare certificates than me but because o' the old hand-shake A' got the job. Fir real Aye - fir real! A'm no just sayin' that."*

SJ declared that in 'Kirky' the houses were painted green and his father would paint his own blue. SJ talked extensively about areas like Croy, which were, in his view, Catholic ghettos.

SJ said that football was a tool used to manage people because after feelings of intense solidarity on the Saturday, when 147,000 fans would turn up for an international game, they would all have to go “Back to the same grind on the Monday”. “A form of population control” he argued. When concluding his remarks, after Colin, GDFLP Literacy tutor, reminding him that we had to open up the discussion with written comment to the group, SJ said, “Where I get my inspiration is in the Glory and Dismay.”

The class that evening responded to SJ’s contribution. AMJ (a fellow learner; see Section 5.3) said that they took him back to his own yesteryear. “It was social history woven through football stories and pictures”.

James Gilfillin, (GDFLP volunteer), talked about the time when supporters all passed each other when they were changing at half-time and he talked about his memories of disability cars / vehicles inside football grounds. Annie Ross (AR; learner) and Karen (Care Worker) talked about the idea of “football, bookies and boozers” and what Colin (GDFLP literacy tutor) described as the social fabric surrounding football. AR said she closely identified with SJ’s description of his father coming home drunk and the fear and trepidation felt by the family. AR said that it was so widespread that sort of behaviour that “it’s just what you know”. Karen remembered her family coming home from watching the 1978 World Cup in the pub and that they were “absolutely pished”. She remembered as a 7 year old pouring a bottle of whiskey down the toilet to stop them getting drunker. AR said that her brother played for Partick Thistle and that football was “part of your identity”.

SJ said it was part of our oral history as well and that words such as 'meritocracy' that had been introduced last week were not part of our oral tradition. He talked about hearing oral traditions amongst the Australian Aborigines and "Red Indians" (Native Americans) in his worldly travels and how he felt that they were similar the oral traditions around football in Scotland.

To maintain the literacy focus that evening, I asked, "Did people not think that unless we wrote down our histories we were in danger of a 'history of silence'". SJ said that some peoples felt their history would be corrupted by the written word and that's why some relied on the oral tradition.

The class provided an educational experience that involved the collective deconstruction of the culture of football, which, in SJ's and Tom Purdie's view, provides an insight into 'social history'. Moreover, SJ recognised and articulated that evening the notion of football as a "form of population control."

This discourse of football as social history is linked to an oral tradition that represents the silenced voice of the Scottish working class. The learners' discussion and participation reflect how the social practice approach to critical literacy inherent in the Glory and Dismay Programme, can, through oracy and literacy, give voice to that history of silence through the adult learner. The programme therefore facilitates what Ana Maria Araujo Freire (1997: 205) describes as 'an atmosphere of hope and confidence' to such an extent Steven James declared, "Where I get my inspiration is in the Glory and Dismay."

5.3 Alan Murray Johnston (AMJ): “I love it”

Come in Mr AMJ

AMJ had come into my office, 16th April 2009 to look at support with Housing Benefit and said he never missed a GDFLP class because “I love it”. I was slightly stunned because AMJ, while being an able, active participant and learner on the programme, presents himself as another ‘Hun’, Hun being a derogatory word for a German or a Protestant, especially in Northern Ireland and urban Scotland. Moreover, it is an insulting term used to describe Rangers Football Fans.

The importance of professional football in the sectarian history of Scotland is, according to Scott C. Styles (2000: 118), hard to overstate.

However, while displaying all the sectarian trappings and signs, such as consistently wearing Rangers strips with Union Jacks on them and Red hand of Ulster badges, AMJ is a considered and co-operative individual in his late fifties who one would find it difficult to attribute the bitterness and bigotry usually associated with such signifiers. The issue of sectarianism in Scottish football appears clichéd in the curriculum of the G & D programme.

The theme for the class, 10th March 09 at Spartans Football Academy was, for example, ‘sectarianism and football’ with an exploration of the issue of ‘stereotyping’ i.e. ‘what’s in a nickname’. The programme has regularly invited speakers to comment on sectarianism.

When challenged about his Rangers’ colours in the office that morning, AMJ referred to the time we had more fully discussed it, in a semi-structured interview 10th January 2008, when he had recited his introduction and start of his love affair with Rangers.

He proudly declared "Eh It would be about 1962 - 63. A would be about eleven. A was taken' to Ibrox by a friend. A wiz playing just for the Boys Brigade²¹ now and again. Sometimes, when A' could A played fir the Boys Brigade team. A joined the Boys Brigade in 63."

"Ma team is Glasgow Rangers. Yes" he laughs *"Nothing but the best"*. "Why's that?" I ask. *"Do A need to tell you?"* He laughs again *"Have ye got the time?"* "Well tell me", I asked him, "who took you to your first game?" *"Naw just a Friend. A would say he's a bit older than me now."*

He stays in Bermuda now. He's a Polis man." He laughs. "Oh Aye! That's me! That's it! I'm going' back. Yes! A' loved it. Aye! Just something different. Aye!". I badgered him saying "how could you feel at home at Ibrox even with all the songs and the Billy Boys"²²?

"It didnae worry me although in ma religion wise we've got different mixed marriages ... in ma family." "So you had been in the Boys Brigade, which is usually a sort of Protestant organisation" "Correct!" AMJ quickly retorted. You were brought up a Protestant then? "Yes." So you remember your first day at Ibrox?" "Yes very much! And who we played against! Aberdeen. It was a draw" AMJ laughed.

21 The first Boys' Brigade company was set up by Sir William Alexander Smith, 4 October 1883 at Free Church Mission Hall, North Woodside Road, Glasgow, Scotland. The object of the Boys' Brigade since its formation has been 'the advancement of Christ's kingdom among Boys and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-respect and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness' (<http://seessex.boys-brigade.org.uk/boysbrigade.htm>). This long relationship with the Boys Brigade and Glasgow is also associated, in the main, with the Protestant Church.

22 Billy Boys has its origins in the 1920s, as the signature tune of the Brighton Boys, a Protestant street gang in Glasgow led by Billy Fullerton. The gang often had fights with Catholic gangs such as the Norman Conks. Fullerton was a former member of the British Fascists, and was awarded a medal for strike-breaking during the 1926 General Strike.

"Nothing each! So boring! But A loved it. As I said 'A would go back!'" AMJ went on to describe how he loved it so much he would go back every week or every home game, a passion he has replicated in his attendance at the GDFLP programme. Tynecastle Stadium and Spartans Football Academy became, I observed, a surrogate Ibrox for AMJ. "It was about '67 onwards I managed to start goin' to all the games. Some away games A' went tae. Ma very first away game was against Ayr United down at Somerset Park and we won 5 – 1. ... the next time was against Motherwell, in Motherwell and we were getting beat 2 – 0 and we came back to win 5 – 3.

Not only that, A found out later, one of the boys that played for Motherwell was a cousin of one of my Boys Brigade friends." "So the Boys Brigade and Rangers Football team helped shape your identity?" I probed him. "Did you indulge in the culture of heavy drinking that seems to go along with that?" *"No, because A was brought up ... A would say ... properly. If you drink you drink only so much".* "Were you from a strict family?", I investigated further.

"Very strict. Religion wise and a' the rest of it. Go tae church and the Boys Brigade.

But A always remember, A can tell you this story, A can't remember who we were playing at Ibrox one day and I went to this game at the Copeland Road end and A was shouting everything F..nnn.... B....s²³" AMJ laughed "and a' the rest of it and the next thing this person looks round and looked at me and here it was ma Boys Brigade Captain." AMJ laughed again "Just standin' a few feet from me."

23 F..nnn.... B....s: A diplomatic way of saying 'Fucking Bastards'

Breaking the Mould

In 'The Guardian' Letters pages, Saturday 17 May 2008, outraged Manchurians described vividly the disturbances, which marred the Rangers v St Petersburg UEFA Cup final. A local resident recounted:

Those of us who work in Manchester city centre were compelled all day long to run the gauntlet of drunken Glaswegians braying their obnoxious sectarian chants and vomiting all over the streets. I was delayed from reaching home for several hours.

Another resident in the same letter page alluded to the construct of British identity commonly associated with Rangers Football Club. This construct is described by Styles (2000: 119) in a description of how Rangers fans taunt the 'Scottish' Dons (Aberdeen Fans) with an 'assertion of English / Britishness by singing 'Rule Britannia' or the English rugby song 'Swing Low Sweet Chariot''. The same local resident, of the letter above, maintains, ironically

Those of us who live or work here were confronted by streets flowing with urine and piled with rubbish, racist chanting, harassment and verbal abuse.

If this is the Britishness to which Rangers fans are so attached then many Manchurians are today as eager as Wendy Alexander²⁴ to see an early vote on ending the union.

24

Wendy Alexander: Former leader of Labour Party in Scotland in Scottish Parliament

This correlation between Rangers and obnoxious behaviour is partly explained by Walker (2000) in his discourse around Scottish sectarianism. Walker (2000: 131) suggests that 'Rangers for many years found their most enthusiastic support among the rougher working-class elements whose behaviour on the terraces, and on Orange marches, provoked middle-class Presbyterian abhorrence.'

Despite this link between Rangers and sectarian bigotry in Scotland, AMJ's relationship with the football club seems more to do with notions of community, solidarity and, at the risk of sounding ridiculous, 'love'. I quizzed AMJ in 2008 on when he stopped going on a regular basis to watch Rangers. *"Well we moved ... eh.. A' got married actually ... about 1981. That was the last time A was inside Ibrox."*

"So for about 14 years you were going to Ibrox every week?" "Near enough every week." he replied. *"So it was a big part of your life?"*, I explored further. *"Aye. A' loved every minute of it and A was pleased that just last year ... A' go to the Stafford Centre, which is for Mental Health people and there is two people that go to the Stafford Centre that I'm very friendly with and one of them is a Rangers fan. They are both women! But one in particular, not the Rangers fan, the other is a Hearts fan – boo! She knew somebody who could get tickets for Ibrox"*

So they had an open-day at Ibrox, so we could go in and see the whole of the stadium and the trophy room; Directors box everything. Got some photographs in the hoose."

These notions of community, solidarity and 'love' are demonstrated in AMJ's increasing commitment, and transference of these emotions, to the GDFLP. AMJ previously announced in 2008 that the GDFLP had helped his reading and writing skills by declaring "Eh, ... literacy yes it has helped. Reading wise some words - yes A would say so." Such brief comments do not tell us much about his literacy development but his marked engagement with the literacy curriculum of the project is most apparent from my participatory observations. For example, my 3rd March 09 PO2 notes highlight:

It was obvious that AMJ ability as a literacy learner had improved as he started to write the names and football teams down of learners who didn't feel confident to do so.

I noted in the same 3rd March 09 PO2 notes that:

PA, a homeless young man, was quite argumentative and did not follow the ground rules of "One Singer one song", meaning when one person is speaking the group give him / her respect and don't interrupt. AMJ offered to give him his old black and white television because he had been unable to watch the last weekend match in which Rangers went to the top of the SPL.

Although not a literacy acquisition point, AMJ who when initially joining the class displayed a marked reticence and shyness, now demonstrated progression in his ability to act co-operatively, to support newer and younger learners joining the programme and to use the common language of football and shared support of a particular team to enter into meaningful dialogue.

One Singer One Song

"Wan singer wan song" barked AMJ as TJ (learner) kept excitedly talking while DA, a new learner who appeared to have a learning disability, read out the seventh paragraph of May, 2001 Guardian article 'A game of two halves' written by Kirsty Scott. The theme for that night's class, Tuesday 10th March, (PO4), Spartans' Football Academy was 'sectarianism and football' with an exploration of the issue of 'stereotyping' with an investigation of 'what's in a nickname' and other related issues. After looking at and discussing discrimination, the 13 learners collectively read out the article with TJ immediately 'kicking off' with the first paragraph, which acted as an introduction to the article.

"TJ, ya Jambo²⁵ nightmare, ye read oot the first paragraph noo gie TJ a kick o the ba²⁶." Significantly, AMJ helped DA where he was obviously struggling. At no time did I sense that anyone felt uncomfortable with the help that was being offered.

BS (learner), who, I'm informed by Kirsteen, (Youth Literacies Worker, City of Edinburgh Council) has a learning difficulty, read out the twelfth paragraph again helped by AMJ with more difficult language pronunciation. AMJ, himself, read out the 14th to seventeenth paragraphs and seemed to understand the issue of anti-discrimination that the author was keen to convey.

AMJ's ability to empathise with other individual learners and his ability to move towards a role of teacher / learner has been marked throughout 2009.

25 Jambo: nickname for Heart of Midlothian Football Fans i.e. Hearts = Jam tarts

26 kick o the ba: 'kick of the ball' means 'shot' or 'turn'

On Thursday evening, Willie Bauld Suite, Heart of Midlothian FC, 5th March 2009 (PO3), I recorded that:

AMJ had gone away and got a newspaper cutting and read it out about the victory of 6 - 2 Hibs beating Hearts with Mika-Matti "Mixu" Paatelainen scoring a hat trick. Mixu, JMA informed the class, is fondly remembered by Hibernian supporters for his hat trick in a 6-2 victory over rivals, Heart of Midlothian 22 October 2000. The group collectively looked up the word 'Contortionist' with AMJ jumping up and spelling it without a dictionary and writing it up on the flip chart.

AMJ's willingness to bring in newspaper cuttings, to look up difficult words by effective use of the dictionary became a positive part of his identity in the GDFLP group. On 12th March 09 at Hearts (PO5), before starting I asked if anybody of the 18 learners could remember the word 'meritocracy' that had been introduced by CA (learner) on Tuesday night Spartans session.

PA, AMJ and others said they had never heard the word before "never mind spell it". However, AMJ reached for the dictionary and spelt it with PA (learner) writing it on the flip chart.

AMJ again read out the definition from the dictionary. Later that evening, BT (learner) blamed Tom Farmer²⁷ for Hibs' recent demise because he had stopped putting (investing) more money into the football side.

27 Thomas Farmer, (born 10 July 1940, Leith, Edinburgh) is a Scottish entrepreneur. One of seven siblings from a devoutly Catholic family, in 1964 Farmer founded his own tyre retailing business which he sold in 1969 for £450,000. Farmer "retired" to the United States, but became bored and decided to find a new challenge.[1] He returned to Edinburgh to found the Kwik Fit chain of garages in 1971.

BT mourned the demise of Hibs as they were the only team in Scotland, she argues, who were bringing young players into the game to be bought by Rangers and Celtic. She said that Rangers and Celtic had a 'monopoly' on the Scottish group. The word 'monopoly' was written up and AMJ looked in up in the dictionary for a definition.

At Spartans Football Academy, Tuesday 14th April 09 (P013), the full group started to collectively read the final Chapter (Chapter 22) from 'These Colours don't Run²⁸' called 'The boy becomes a man'.

BJ (learner) started with the first paragraph and RS (learner) quickly followed. WA (learner) then jumped in with next 2 paragraphs and I read the following two. AMJ, who is now a confident reader continued with another two paragraphs and BJ read the next. Elaine, literacy tutor, read 2 paragraphs and then Hazel, the other tutor.

BT then began to read the next paragraph and it became obvious she was having a lot of difficulty. The group, however, especially AMJ helped her with the more difficult words and he complimented BT (learner) on her efforts, as did many in the Group. BT said after that this was the first time she had felt able to read aloud in a group.

At Spartans Football Academy, 21st April 2009 (P015) I said that Rangers fans had acted like the old Tartan Army of the 1970s in Manchester at the end of 2008. AMJ said, "That's not Rangers fans – its casuals²⁹". CB (learner) said that he thought that was 'speculation'.

28 Dykes, Derek and Colvin, Andy (2006) *These Colours Don't Run: Inside the Hibs Capital City Service* Ayr, Fort Publishing

29 The 'casuals' subculture is a subsection of association football culture that is typified by football hooliganism and the wearing of expensive European designer clothing. The subculture originated in the United Kingdom in the late 1970s when many hooligans started wearing designer labels and expensive sportswear in order to avoid the attention of police. They didn't wear club colours, so it was easier to infiltrate rival groups and to enter pubs.

AMJ immediately reached for the dictionary and sought out a definition of speculation, which was 'to form or put forward opinions based on conjecture'. The group then demanded to know what 'conjecture' meant. AMJ's self-allocated role as teacher / learner was paying off. His dialogue around more complex vocabulary was inspiring other learners in their acquisition of functional vocabularic skills.

Critical Literacy

Critical literacy, refers to an emancipatory process in which one reads not only the 'word' but also the 'world' (Freire and Macedo, 1987), a process whereby a person becomes empowered to be able to unveil and decode 'the ideological dimensions of texts, institutions, social practices and cultural forms such as television and film, in order to reveal their selective interests' (McLaren, 1994: 07).

AMJ and I are sitting in Room 4 of Tollcross Community Centre on a bright winter's day in January 2008. I gain his consent (Appendix 9) to carry out a semi-structured interview.

Having discussed his educational and footballing background, I'm keen to ascertain whether the GDFLP has enhanced his critical awareness / literacy. When I asked him earlier that afternoon (exploring the impact of metaphor use in newspapers) "Are we at war with Islam? Are we at war with Hibernian?" he laughed loudly. "Are we at war with Celtic? Do you feel we are war with anybody?" *"There is only one war just now with Iraq. And A' feel for people that are out there; innocent people that are getting killed for no reason at all. These troops should be brought home. Now!"* AMJ thus, forcefully articulating an anti-Iraq war stance (Section 4.4 on Critical Discourse Analysis discussion).

Then I say, "AMJ, I know you don't read the 'Sun' but I'm going to ask you to read this, ... it's just an editorial from the Sun in December and just to look at this and tell me what you think about it? ... AMJ reads the editorial. (Appendix 8) ... *"Well, A think it's about time that people like this ... eh ... they should nae be allowed intae Britain cause it's takin' way jobs from people here and we're actually payin' them when we could be payin' x amount of money fur medical or even schools here."*

I'm slightly surprised given AMJ's anti-Iraq war stance. "So what you're saying really is the view of the Sun that they're critical of the government for not getting tough enough on asylum seekers, I suggest "Yes!" he asserts. "That's a view you would kinnda support?" "Yes! Yes! Very much so!" And you would be concerned that they are free to resume drug dealing, burglary, and ..." "Yes!" "and that kind of thing?" "Yes!" "And you would agree with the line that Gordon Brown should deliver his promise a bit quicker?" "Yes, very much so!" "Making sure we got rid of illegal Asylum Seekers?" "Yes! Very much so! Not only that ... in this country the punishment does not fit the crime!" "So for this editorial you don't think the punishment is strong enough?" "No! No! ..." "for Asylum Seekers?" "No! No! It should be the same fur everybody ... doesn't matter who it is!" "Yes. Yes".

I say trying to hide my continued surprise. "And the line from the Sun is that similar to the Daily Record? Has the Daily Record got the same kinnda tough line on Asylum Seekers?" "A wouldn't say so!" "Not tough enough for you?" "Naw! A' feel that the Asylum Seekers that come here are only after the money and then go away back to their own place where they've came fae. Whereas that money could be used fur something else." (Section 4.4. on CDA).

I was surprised at AMJ response to the Sun editorial immediately after the semi-structured interview, January 2008, because AMJ had struck me as an individual with a considerable amount of compassion and I had thought that he would display greater empathy with the plight of asylum seekers. AMJ joined the GDFLP in autumn 2007 and when I had asked him about how he felt the Programme had benefited him he replied, *"It has helped by meeting people from different cultures."*

Just over a year later, 16th April 2009 (PO14), at the Willie Bauld Suite, Heart of Midlothian F.C. I allocated each learner to a learning subgroup while they were writing their name up on the flipchart. I took the group, which was exploring the Sun headlines in response to the Hillsborough disaster and blamed fans from stealing from the dead; urinating on the dead and attacking police officers who were giving Liverpool fans the kiss of life. In response to the first question as to why the Sun put forward headlines like these AMJ said, "It was like the current Daily Sport and Sunday Sport in that they will do anything to sell newspapers." AMJ went on to say that the Sun had been "out of order; they could get away with it years ago because unlike now people couldn't produce evidence from their mobile phone cameras to contradict the police evidence". AMJ said he would go to the library to get a copy of the Sun Newspaper from 1989 and see what it said beyond the headlines.

He said he would like to 'substantiate' the evidence. He introduced this new word, 'substantiate' saying he had heard it on Police programmes on the television. I observed that evening (PO 14) that AMJ had provided evidence of increased vocabularic skills and a critical awareness not shown in previous Glory and Dismay Programme terms.

AMJ was beginning to 'unveil and decode the ideological dimensions of texts, institutions, social practices and cultural forms such as television and film, in order to reveal their selective interests' (Mayo 1995: 363). AMJ was critiquing the legitimacy of the Sun's 'unsubstantiated' claims the tabloid made about the Liverpool Fans. These are claims that have subsequently been discredited and have provoked hostility towards the newspaper throughout the UK. The GDFLP with its cohort of Libyan, Nigerian and other new comers to Scotland seems to have provided a critical framework for AMJ and a safe reflective space.

The footballing social context is a framework AMJ is much more accustomed to and through football he is able to use his existing knowledge to critique the dominant discourses that suffuse, and are constructed by, the tabloid press. There is evidence of AMJ, I feel, gaining greater critical awareness in some areas but not in others.

5.4 Fergus Keane (FK): "Anythin' you throw at me A'll certainly try and give it a bash!"

FK 'gets together' with Glory and Dismay

"Hi, I'm John Player and I work for the Adult Learning Project, ALP. This is our first night at the splendid Hibee or rather Hibernian Stadium and we'll be running this adult literacy class for twelve weeks in the Captains Lounge in the magnificent West Stand of Easter Road Stadium.

We've been running a similar class in Jambo or Hearts country since 2004 and I'm delighted that we've eventually succeeded in making it to the better side of the city. Yes I'm a Hibbee myself.

At the risk of sounding high falutin the ALP project and this football literacy programme is based on the work of a Brazilian educator called Paulo Freire and he thought the first step to learning to read and write is for participants to 'speak their word' so I'm asking everybody here, when its your turn in the group, to say your name and tell us what football team you support?"

As co-ordinator of GDFLP, these are my introductory remarks to adult learners at every new term.

"Aye likesae – well A suppose it'll hae tae be me then! A'm a Hibee³⁰ through an' through like ma best mucker here, David (another learner). ... *A've known MD fur 33 years and A'll tell ye he's the most funniest laddie you'll ever get and he's the most carin' lad. Because he's like me, he cares aboot others no himself. He's ma best buddy. Aye! Ma English team is, just like ma best mucker here MD, is Newcastle and ma National Team is Australia!*" FK declares. (FK tells me this again in semi-structured interview 17th April 2008). The new class erupts in laughter. "Not Scotland?" I ask. "*Because they are not experienced enough like Australia; they're more ... they got one up higher cause it's a National - it's supposed to be a Scottish National team and they're no Scottish National in it cause it's more ... cause there's quite a few English in it! And A' would always go back to ma 2nd home which is Australia cause A've got family that lives in Perth.*"

FK introduces himself to the GDFLP by presenting himself in Hibs clothing from top to bottom. He is in his late 30s with close-cropped receding hair and small goatee beard.

30

Hibee: Nickname for Hibernian Football Club (FC) supporter

FK attended, initially, every week at Hibernian for his first 12 week term and came every week to the Heart of Midlothian sessions on a Thursday dressed in his characteristic Hibernian colours. FK, subsequently has attended every GDFLP class since late 2007.

Getting to Know FK

"A like it here – likesae A could volunteer here nae bother". "Sit down FK please", I said on a blustery Spring day, 17th April 2008. "I'm going to ask you a series of questions and I wonder if you would fill out this consent form (Appendix 12)." "Nae Bother!" "Give us your name and age so I can make sure this audio equipment is working OK FK?" "FK, A'm 37 year old and I was born in Simpson's Maternity Ward in Edinburgh." "And your Primary School and Secondary School FK?" "Prospect Bank. Prospect Bank. It's half way down eh eh Restalrig". "And where did you go to Secondary School?" "Pilrig Park in Balfour Street." Pilrig Park in Balfour Street, FK did you enjoy School? "Mmm No" FK feigns an embarrassed laughter. "OK FK we'll come back to the reasons for that eh?" I said sensing some difficulty."

"FK, when you left school what did you do FK?" "*When A' left school Ah went tae Hawkhill Adult Training Centre.*" Hawkhill Adult Training Centre and where's that? "*17 Hawkhill Avenue – it's just down from the Hibs Stadium.*" Oh it's just down near where you stay?"

"Yes! A' didn't know this; Ah didn't know this – it was somebody else that told me this – it was actually a Hibs player – he said 'Where A' was – Hawkhill Day Centre was actually a Hibs Club; it was an old Hibs Club' who ... it was owned by Hibernian FC and what they used tae do was some things fur people that's got learning disabilities and likesae a social club so they could mix in with other disability people of all ages and that's what made me start tae think about workin' or supportin' with disability people." "So that's been a ...

..... "I hesitate, I'm beginning to realise that FK has a diagnosed learning disability from a young age. "Likesae, A could volunteers here nae bother".

I introduced him to voluntary organisations that come under the auspices of the Adult Learning Project and he was enamoured by the *Welcoming* which is a project that supports refugees, asylum seekers and 'new-comers' to Scotland. FK presented himself the Wednesday following his semi-structured interview, 17th April 2008, in his tracksuit with Hibernian insignia on it. "A'm a first-aider. A'n A've got ma Food Hygiene Certificate" he said to my colleagues which, I assumed, would enable him to volunteer in the Welcoming kitchen. It was agreed that FK should return at the beginning of the following week with his certificates and then work out his voluntary commitment to the Welcoming.

However, I was inundated by phone calls from Welcoming Volunteers (who as refugees, asylum seekers and newcomers to Scotland traditionally suffered racial oppression) asking me who he was and, asking me whether I was aware that he was smelling of drink? Moreover, the coordinator of the project, who is a personal friend and close colleague felt it necessary to phone me at home and left the following message on my answering machine:

18th April 1.00 pm Hi John, it's BJ from the Welcoming – just a quick call - "Who on Earth did you bring into the Welcoming yesterday that smelt like rotten fish?" Get out of it – speak to you soon [message on my answer machine].

I was taken aback. The Welcoming is a project that is concerned with people who are oppressed by racism and the discourses surrounding asylum seekers that actually form part of my interview of learners. Theoretically, oppression and power are multiple-sited.

It is naïve to assume that those oppressed by race will automatically empathise with the oppressions meted out to others.

However, the reason I was taken aback was because I subsequently interviewed FK for almost two hours and I am certain he did not smell of drink or 'fish'. I am, nevertheless, confident that he was the subject of prejudice from workers and volunteers involved with the *Welcoming* and that this is a deep-seated prejudice against people with learning disabilities.

Such negative reactions did not in any way deter FK. He has become a regular and valued volunteer at the *Welcoming* and at its umbrella organisation, the ALP Association.

On 27th March, at the ALP Assoc. Meeting and 'Wee Gaitherin³¹', FK attended on behalf of the G & D Programme and heard about the funding crisis for the *Welcoming* Project. The *Welcoming* Project having failed to secure a second Lottery grant award and was in financial crisis and was asking members to look at ways in the media to highlight their plight. "A ken a sports journalist that came tae Spartans on Tuesday there" he said to the Association. "A'll hae a word wae her!"

On Tuesday 31st March, Spartans, (PO10) FK did indeed make the point in relation to Moira Gordon (Scotland on Sunday Sports journalist).

He informed the class that Jon Busby, *Welcoming* Coordinator, had asked learners' groups if they knew any journalists who would do a story on the funding crisis for this prestigious project. FK suggested that we 'capture' Moira and ask her if she knew of any sympathetic journalists in 'The Scotsman' or the 'Scotland on Sunday'.

31 Wee Gaitherin: A social gathering held every month for Adult Learning Project (ALP) members

Moira was, in fact, leaving the Spartans F.C. café as we spoke and I asked her if we could meet to talk later.

“Mind we’ve got tae speak to that Moira Gordon noo John Player!” FK reminded me at the end of the session about making contact with the Spartans volunteer and Sports Journalist. FK went off and found her in Sammy’s, Spartans F.C. Community Development Manager’s room, and brought her to the main classroom where we exchanged mobile numbers and asked her to identify a sympathetic journalist who would do a story about the Welcoming. She agreed to do so and said the journalist would get in touch with me via my mobile.

FK Speaking his Word

As with the first term FK attended, he never missed a class at the, what turned out to be, 13 week term, 3rd February 2009 - 30th April 2009. In fact, FK has never missed a class, football match, ALP Wee Gaitherin, or an ALP Association meeting.

FK participates in the literacy classes on a Tuesday and Thursday night by listening, by speaking his word, helping make the teas and coffees and, importantly for the evaluation of the programme, rigorously taking the register of learners on a clipboard.

However, FK never³² wrote his name or football team down on the flipchart at the beginning of the class at either class. In one session, which I couldn’t attend³³, a Community Education student, Dawn Bruce took the participatory observation notes (PO6) and then logged her entry into my journal.

32 In 2010, FK subsequently found the confidence and skills to write name on flipchart.

33 Someone else was taking PO notes for you because I had to attend Open University Seminar in Milton Keynes

She remarked:

The learners, who felt they did not want to write on the board, but contribute to group's interaction and discussion process, were FK (learner), PA (learner), HE (learner) and WA (learner). It is evident through previous writing exercises within the group - they have severe literacy issues.

BT (learner) volunteered to write her name on the board and was not fazed to ask for the spelling of her team. One of the group shouted out 'what can ye no spell', which she replied 'shut up', and carried on, without going red faced as she normally does.'

PA, HE and WA eventually, according to Dawn Bruce, felt confident enough to write their names and football teams but not FK. I know from previous classes that FK is able to write his name and his football team but he has commented negatively about his previous educational experience. For example, when, on 17th April 2008 at his semi-structured interview, I asked him if he hadn't enjoyed school, his reply was *"Because I thought, it wasn't ... it was taken disability out of me."*

When I asked him what his disability was he said "My disability, well it's class room bullying. A was bullied at school!" "So you were bullied at school FK?" I asked. "Yes, and that's why A feel its taken it out of me and it's stopping me from workin' wae others that's got that and A disagree because people that's got a disability doesnae mean to say they cannae do anything. They can!"

Although I cannot know for sure, I would surmise that FK's experience of education in Prospect Bank in Edinburgh might have left some emotional scars, which continue to inhibit him from writing publicly in a classroom setting.

FK, nevertheless, has provided evidence that he is able to integrate himself successfully into new groups. Dawn Bruce pointed out, for example, in her observations that:

Douglas the Business Manager for Spartan, came to the group and gave a talk on his experience with football and what Spartan had to offer. Through watching and observing group dynamics, everyone seemed extremely interested and enthusiastically asked relevant questions. Douglas talked about volunteers within Spartan and made reference to FK. He said that FK would be coming 'on board' Spartans as a volunteer community coach. FK was elated and grinned like a Cheshire cat through the rest of the session. Douglas stressed the importance of community relations, and making a difference.

FK has sustained this role as a community coach with children at Spartans Football Academy throughout that term and is keen to continue.

FK is, in contrast with writing, confident in speaking in groups and he asks pertinent questions when keynote speakers attend, as when Moira Gordon, Sports Journalist for Scotland on Sunday attended the class on Tuesday 24th March (P08), at Spartans Football Academy. For example, FK asked her about Mixi, Hibernian manager, and Moira Gordon said he "changed as a manager; distrustful. Having known him as a player. Tony Mowbray was a gem to deal with!". A recorded example of FK's coherent oracy is on Tuesday 31st March at Spartans Football Academy (P010), where he talked about his goalkeeping training of Spartans youth and children for 3 hours on a Monday night between 6.00 and 9.00 pm. He said Sammy, the Spartans Business manager and coach, had said that he will be supported in going through his SFA (Scottish Football Association) certificate in Goalkeeping coaching.

While FK struggles with the written word, there is evidence of the embryonic 'pedagogy of hope' for further literacy acquisition that is proposed by both Freire (1970: 29) and his compatriot Sticht (2005). For as Freire & Macedo (1987: 34) point out 'Learning to read and write means creating and assembling a written expression for what can be said orally. The teacher cannot put it together for the student; that is the student's creative task.' The notion of learners speaking their word is fundamental to a Freirian based approach to critical literacy practice. FK continues to struggle to coherently 'speak his word' but uses the GDFLP, I feel, as a safe environment to practice such articulation.

FK's Engagement with the Literacy Curriculum

FK believes that the GDFLP has been of assistance in his literacy skills acquisition. "Do you think the GDFLP has helped your reading and writing skills in any way?" I asked FK on 17th April 2008. "Oh Yes!

Definitely! Yeh!" "In what way do you think it has helped?" *"Because, the way A've see it ... the way A see it is ... [1] A've listened to other people and A've listened to what they've said and [2] A've put it up here and made ma own final decisions ... and some of it A' agree ... and some of it ... A don't ... depends ... depends on the subject and what A' s do [3] A' say to ma sel' 'no that's no right' and then A judge it ma own way and A say tae them ... and then A'll probably ... later on in the session A'll probably say 'right A think you were a wee bit outae touch bit ... [[4] way A' see it is if you listen more and listen to what the rest of the people say ... that's one good way of learnin' education."*

FK lists specific skills, given to him as a checklist by me, the GDFLP has enabled him to do especially 'listening' see [1]above; 'decision making' see [2] above ; 'critical evaluation' see [3] above; 'paying attention and concentration' see [4].

FK, thus, highlights the 'meaning and impact' of GDFLP. Moreover, he has expressed his desire to plan his literacy learning by saying, for example (PO10) "A'm going to do a story of ma goalkeeping training at Spartans" said FK.

FK and his Laptop Bag

"Will A bring ma laptop John?". "Where FK?" I ask. "Tae the pictures!" "Eh ... no FK".

Previously, on 17th April 2008 at FK's semi-structured interview, I asked FK if he had access to a computer at home? "No!". "No ... eh ... so Fergus in the longer term you know we've got these computers - it might be something you'd be interested in then?" "Yes, if A've got .. eh .. the right equipment and the right tools ... And also that A've got the right teacher." "Right" ... "And also that as long as A've got a good teacher." "Right ..." "If A've got the right teacher A'll do it ... bit ..."

"We'd just ask you to take it home and use it for the term you know, maybe in August or something like that ..." "Yeah." "So that's something – you don't have access to a computer at home?" "No!" "And do you use the computer in a library or that?" "Eh ... sometimes."

"So your PS 1³⁴ is that not on a computer?" "No it's on a playstation ... it's just a ... it's just a ... it's just a play station ... it doesn't access on eh ..." "Well if you can use that you could use a computer, I'm sure" ... "A'm sure, A'm sure, yeah."

In partnership with Heart of Midlothian Education and Community Trust we bought ten laptops and FK accessed one with a haversack style bag.

34 The PlayStation (abbreviated PS) brand is a line of video game consoles created and developed by Sony Computer Entertainment, it was first introduced by Sony Computer Entertainment in Japan on December 3, 1994.

FK has brought it consistently to every class and was the only learner to attend a feeder ICT class at Hearts on a Monday afternoon during the Autumn 2008 term. FK's ability to successfully manage his ICT equipment and develop his literacy skills, with support, is displayed below in the next section and in Appendix 15.

Bruno Event

"Wish we had more like you FK" said Stan. "A' wiz helpful tonight Oh Aye! No many volunteers like me to keep John Player right eh Stan? A think that John Player has a screw missin don't you Stan?" "Come on Fegus," I said, "we'll get the ladders and we'll get the Che Guevara banner down. Bruno, the community artist and historian, would have been proud of us tonight as we succeeded in putting together a packed out event to celebrate his art work, film and his life, eh FK?" "Aye A'm proud oh us.

Will ye – likesae tell the ALP Association committee A did well the night?" FK said quietly. "Sure will FK - sure will! A lot has happened here for you FK since we first met at Easter Road buddy eh?" I replied.

My thoughts resonated with Erben (1998: 13) when he suggests

For biographical research, time and its passage may be seen as *the* inescapable feature of human life. The fact that lived time is finite and that our subjects (and we ourselves) have been born and will die is the backdrop against which all life is lived. In short, *a life that is studied is the study of a life in time.*
(author's emphasis)

FK's passage in time and his 'getting together' with the GDFLP' has improved his literacy acquisition: skills-based evidence for this is that FK completed the 'Reading' component (the amended version using Football context by GDFLP) of the full SQA module in Communications Level 2 which he was awarded in late 2009.

Moreover, evidence of a social practice development in FK's increasing ability with a 'literacy event' (Chapter 3) is demonstrated below in his filling out of the Statement Cards.

The Scottish Executive's (2001: 01) ALNIS Report's recognises that a high proportion of those with low levels of literacy and numeracy are to be found among people with health problems and disabilities. Despite FK's learning disability, then, he has provided evidence that he, within the specific football cultural context, demonstrated his competence in the Scottish Executive (2001: 03) definition of literacy, which is

The ability to read, write and use numeracy, to handle information, to express ideas and opinions, to make decisions and solve problems, as family members, workers, citizens and lifelong learners.

In fact, the GDFLP would agree with FK's own evaluation. That is "Very good FK", a Statement Card filled out Thursday 19th March at Heart of Midlothian's Willie Bauld Suite (PO7).

5.5 Robert Stuart (RS): "Aw, here we go! A just love football!"

Big RS

I'm packing my car, with help from RS, after the literacy class at Spartans on Tuesday 24th Feb 09 (PO1). RS said he wanted to become a literacy tutor: I said he needed to do the ITTAL Training³⁵ with Gillian Lawrence at CLAN (City Literacy and Numeracy Project), Edinburgh. This would ensure he was paid the correct rate for the job being £17.55 per hour. He said he was keen.

35

ITTAL Training: Professional Development Award - Introductory Training in Adult Literacies Learning (PDA: ITALL)

He then sped off to Wester Hailes on his mountain bike shouting, "See yae Thursday evening at the Willie Bauld Suite, John Player!"

I shouted back, "Take care on that cycle path – it's at least a 30 minute ride to the Hailes – and hide that raj³⁶ Rangers scarf!"

"A'm lethal on the bike!" RS said to me a couple of years ago on the 23rd December 2007 when I went out to Wester Hailes to interview him. *"A wiz a courier! Wasn't A?" "A bicycle courier?"* I asked. *"Yeh" "Brilliant!" "At that time A wasnae that good at football until just A started ma fitness and ma close ball control! A was doin' a lot of cycling at the time as well then!"*

A' first started playing up the Meadows A was about twelve or thirteen year old; that's when A' started playin' in big games! A started off in goals when A was thirteen up at the Meadows.

I had trials a few months ... three of four months ago with the amateur team and that ... A decided ... that didn't work out that! I just wish A' had the chance tae show ma ..."

RS Arrives despite Previous Educational Experiences

RS makes reference to his educational experience and how it contrasts with his experience of the GDFLP by declaring "A was, aw well my education was quite poor, I'll be honest it was quite poor; A was never at school but I used to go to Primary School but A used to hate P7³⁷ and A hardly went at all! My first Primary school A ever went to, A was in a mixture of Primary Schools. A've been to that many it was totally unbelievable!" RS then lists the 10 or more Primary schools he attended.

36 raj: Edinburgh Scots word for 'mad', supposed to be derived from the 'Cant', language of travelling peoples

37 P7: Primary 7, the final year in Primary School (11 years and under) in Scotland

When asked if RS enjoyed school he replied: *"By the time ... A' was younger ... well sort of no - yeh - you know! Bits of it, yeh when A' was there!"* "What bits did you enjoy then? Can you remember?". *"Not really naw!"* I then asked, "From what you've said to me you spent quite a long time truanting?" *"Yeh!"* I try and clarify, "So you go in the morning and just nip off or just not go?" *"Just no go at all! Naw!"* "Was a that a conscious thing? Or was it cause you were unhappy at school?" *"A' don't know; just cause ..."*

"Was it the peer group you were involved in? Did none of you mates go to school or?" *"Naw, I've hardly any memories, anything good about school!"* "So school was a difficult time?" *"Yeh! Yeh!"* "And it was not necessarily all an enjoyable experience?" *"Naw; naw but then I moved onto college at Telford and A' just stuck at it."*

A' read ... A' read anything

"A' read ... A' read anything. Mainly the Metro, the Record P.M. That's about it. And the Evening News! A always bring a paper home with the work, so it would be the Record P.M., that is the late addition of the (Daily Record). A' read the Sun sometimes when A' can be in the readin' the Sun mood, kinda thing. A've got be in the mood. The GDFLP has helped ma reading and writing skills. Yeh. A' am bein' truthful, it has helped ma writing a little bit and ma readin' is getting' a bit better. A've got the Heartfelt³⁸ book! A'm half way through that." RS's reading skills are also evident in the fact that he was the first to complete reading David Peace's novel about Brian Clough, *Damned United*.³⁹

38 Smith, Aidan (2006) *Heartfelt: Supping the Bovril from the Devil's cup* Edinburgh, Birlinn

39 Peace, David (2007) *The Damned United* London, Faber and Faber

Two years later at the Willie Bauld Suite, 9th April 09 RS asserts that he liked the book better than the film.

"A just did"

On 7th April 09 (POCinema), at Fountainpark Cinema, the GDFLP members attended the film just on release called 'Damned United' based on the story of the football manager Brian Clough short experience at Leeds United. RS arrived just at Fountainpark Cinema just after 5.15pm and there were 16 learners waiting along with 3 volunteers, 1 Dundee University student on placement at ALP, 2 literacy tutors and 1 befriender from the Rock Trust.

RS (POCinema) had to speak very loudly in the makeshift classroom session in the pub, almost shouting, and because learners and volunteers couldn't make themselves heard above the background music. RS quickly goes through the ground-rules as many of the learners were constantly "bletherin' and gabbin'" "One singer one song" asserts FK – "Nae Swearin' unless it's in a text" and "Switch yer moby's aff or put them on silent!" When asked who had enjoyed the film, RS said he had much preferred the book; FK said he hadn't enjoyed the film the first time round and felt the same the second; CB said there had been too much swearing in the film. When I asked who had enjoyed it Nicol, GDFLP literacy volunteer, said he had very much despite the "Dodgy fashions, the bad perms and the bad teeth!" RS again reiterated that he liked the book better. However, when asked again to explain why he said "A just did". Robert fails to point out, but seems to understand, what Mullin (2009: 05) argues, that all the footballers and individuals in *Damned United* 'are being seen through one character's eyes. Unlike its film version, the novel always lets you know this.'

RS seems to instinctively relate to Mullin's (2009: 08) proposition that 'most of the book is taken up by an inner voice that Peace invents for his version of Clough, an inner voice in which a thought, a phrase, perhaps just a word, is turned over and over in the character's mind. He has fashioned a kind of mental idiolect, a discourse going on inside one extraordinary person's head.'

RS, perhaps, used these interpretation skills to gain an accreditation in 'Reading' for the Scottish Qualification's Authorities (SQA) Certificate in 'Communications Level 3', which was delivered and taught at Heart of Midlothian Football Stadium for five weeks at the end of April to the end of July 2009.

"Nae bother tae RS" says Jamsey Gilfillin, GDFLP Literacy Volunteer. "RS walked it and he helped teach and support those struggling with Level 2" Jamsey went on.

Not all the time, naw!

When RS was asked, 'do you believe what you read in the newspapers?' RS indicated his ability to critically think and decode by saying "*Not all the time, naw!*" "*The Sun likes to spice things up a bit! That's why A' hardly read the Sun. You just don't know what to believe in the Sun!*".

"A' started comin' along tae the Glory and Dismay... NB introduced me to the Glory and Dismay, the first time you went to ... for a game ... up at Riccarton Campus (Heriot Watt) for the football and A' started comin' along for the week after." As RS says in the GDFLP film (Pilton Video 2008) about the class: "A just love football, A play four times a week when ever A can. It is a great idea and it's quite good fun.'

RS goes on to say that "It's gave me readin' and writing skills and A'v enjoyed every session A'v come tae".

5.6 Tam Jackson (TJ): “Just dinnae let these Hibby rajs near me”

Something's Bugging TJ

I am based in a City of Edinburgh Council Community Centre and the administration of the Centre is part of my responsibility along with adult education and community development. The phone rings in my office at Tollcross Community Centre and TJ says, “Come an' meet me in Gorgi City Farm or A'm no comin' back. It's these Green idiots fae that team you support. Whit are they cawed? 4.00 pm, Aye, but no the café it's closed! Aw right!”

I jump on my bike and head along to Gorgi to the unique City Farm, which gives local people an insight into farming in the urban post-industrialised area of Gorgi / Dalry, Edinburgh. When I arrive, TJ is in the stables and is holding a litter picking-up device and a black plastic bag to put the collected litter in. He's got his usual Heart of Midlothian tracksuit bottoms and anorak on and covering his shaved head is a Heart of Midlothian baseball cap. He's talking to one of the other volunteers in the farm and eventually turns round and acknowledges my arrival. “See this wan – I can hardly make him oot either but A trust him wan hundred per cent” says TJ. A mother comes up the hill with two small boys with thick curly hair who are on a joint harness and are pulling their mother towards the tractor.

The boys spot the old cat on the dustbin that TJ is pondering over and considering whether or not to move the cat. ‘Dinnae yous be feart aw him noo! He's just an auld thing!’ TJ gently leans over and lifts the old cat and empties the dustbin into his black bin liner.

'Just dinnae let these Hibby radges near me – dinnae let that wan near me, A cannae make oot a thing he says." I try to console TJ, "He's (MJ: another learner) got a speech impediment TJ, surely you understand". "I dinnae care whit he's got – just keep him away from me! Aw right?" "Well TJ, it would be a shame to lose you from the GDFLP, you've been there from the start and we appreciate your contribution. I'll speak to him, I promise!" "You'd better or he'll be in an early grave" says TJ as he picks up more litter. "Right doon the address at that Spartans! But if its' aw that Hibby shite you can aw fuck off" he says with a wry smile. "No, we've got the Jambo (Hearts) pundit from Talk 107 coming tomorrow night. His brother dyed all his clothes maroon (the Hearts colours) he was such an ardent Jambo!" "Better than dying it that Green shite, A'm telling ye!" TJ says and laughs.

I go into the office to write down the details about the GDFLP class the following evening at Spartans Football Academy for Jamie on a post-it. When I come out he's disappearing into the vegetation and I ask one of his colleagues to pass on the post-it note.

TJ's Home

Two and a half years earlier, 3rd March 2007, I'm sitting in TJ's Gorgi flat. "My name is Tam Jackson and my date of birth is 1953. Nae official, what's it called again, full education as in writing, spelling, yes tae ma face, but I couldnae understand them cause of ma dyslexia, A couldnae understand piss! It's like pissin up a wall and hit your fuckin face with the piss!" TJ didn't mince his words and immediately outlined his reading and writing difficulty. "A went tae Niddrie Primary School, after Craigmillar Primary first and then Niddrie Primary School. A went tae Niddrie Primary A think it was maybe when A wiz 6.

When A wiz 11 A went tae whit they cawed -well they cawed it a Special school, it wiz fir slow learners, Heaven fuckin knows whit its wiz cawed! A went tae the Primary and A went to the thingmae (Secondary School) at about 11 / 12, and then finished the article (Secondary School) was because you couldnae spell you couldnae read nor write, they called ya slow. Ye cannae write, ya cannae spell, ya cannae understand countin' so they called ya slow! Now they've got the idea if you ask aw the kids who come in a class of 36 or 28 that if he sounds it like a word and the best one A can come up wae is the one that you cannae spell easily 'cholesterol', that's the best one. Try and spell that on a fuckin dyslexia idea you fuckin cannae get by 'cholest'!" TJ was expressing his obvious frustration with his earlier experience of education.

"A didnae go tae an ordinary Secondary, it was a Special school for slow learners, Glen Park I think it was cawed! Naw it was a 'Specialised' school, A think that was the pronunciation".

Fuckin' Dyslexia

"What happened then? Did you get a 'trade'?" I asked TJ. "Aw Naw, Naw Naw Naw Naw Naw! Ya cannae spell! Try goin intae a 'trade', it's like one aw these what's it cawed again? A 'Warehoose'! You open the doors yersell! wae yer dyslexia and aw that shit! You've learnt nothing! You've got nothing! And ya cannae understand nothing! Last but no least, ya cannae count what ya done anyway so in three ways to twenty ways, ya cannae understand anything, cause of yer dyslexia! Word blindness, what's it cawed again?"

I've got it in ma heed, it's a 'delmatation'⁴⁰ O' forty thousand million years, digging wae one shovel and the shovel 4 by 2 in length and ya cannae get anywhere cause yer shovel nae bleedin good cause you broke 40 year ago and you still the thing in yer hand and ya cannae dig any further!"

TJ grimaces with frustration and I ask him when did he become aware that he was dyslexic. "Was there a psychological and educational assessment at the school?" I probe. "Naw Naw you wouldnae get them no during the 60s, ya wouldnae get that! A figured it oot ma self! 10 year old, that's when I figured it oot! A couldnae understand spellin! A looked at it! What do you caw these things? It's like lookin at a paper! Yer still lookin at the same paper 40 minutes later! 50; 60 it's no changed.

The picture at the top, its aw right ya can understand that, it's a picture. That's it. That's aw ya see the picture at the top and that's it. The paper is nae bleedin good, for three reasons because of the words, it like the what's it cawed again? They caw it a 'dancin' believe me yer dyslexic! If your dyslexic you can't see them!" TJ's upfront self-diagnosis took me aback and I could feel his dissatisfaction with the past. "A didnae get a trade cause o' the two: the counting, well mathematics and the Spellin!" I asked TJ if he enjoyed school and he replied: "Naw, Naw, Naw, Naw! A didnae need it cause ya learnt nothing! Ya learnt nothing! The basic thing was goin' tae school, because its they educational people, the government at that time would tell ya tae go tae school, because ya had tae go to school. Ya didnae want tae go tae school! But A still skipped like everybody else!

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delmatation: unrecognisable word used by TJ

Aye, I would go and tell them A wanted to go off because A had to go somewhere! A would say A was goin to the toilet and A would be back in 5 minutes and A would just go out the door, on the bus and away! Don't go back!"

"If you did go to a class did you enjoy it TJ?" I asked. "Naw, Naw. It was cause of the lassies there! They would talk, blether a lot o shite, and if it wasnae aboot they fashion things they would talk aboot make up and it would drive me mad. A was glad tae get away tae hell oot the road an' skive off! Aye!"

Contextualised Pedagogy

It was apparent that TJ's antagonism towards his school memories was based, in part, on his lack of assessment of his learning difficulties and his need of sustained learning support.

I would propose along with Lankshear & Knobel (2009: 63) that the, 'most essential insights about learning in general and literacy education in particular are the crucial importance of ensuring learning and literacy are as directly and concretely as possible situated and grounded in the lived experience of children's lives as members of communities and participants in worldly practices.' The educational system in the 1960s in Scotland was for TJ clearly not situated and grounded in his lived experience. However, as an adult learner, the situated and contextualised pedagogy of the GDFLP has ensured that TJ, despite his previous educational experience, has succeeded in acquiring his 'Reading' component part of the SQA (Scottish Qualifications Authority) Level 3 in Communications. Keeping the relationship between words and football worlds direct and explicit has assisted TJ in his ability to both read and write.

Evidence of his success in the social practice approach is displayed by a 'literacy event', which is represented in Chapter 2, Figure 2.3, where TJ writes about his tattoos. TJ's contribution is reproduced by Scottish Book Trust (2009).

"A refuse to buy it if the Hearts havenae done magic"

"A got intae the Hearts through goin' to the 'Doocot' Bar in Drylaw, ken! An' there was the paper. A would read the paper aw the time or look at the pages. You wouldnae read it such as! A read the 'News' now everyday. Aye, Aye It gees me information ken wi the history. It's got a history page, 20 year ago and things like that.

And I've got the 'Scotsman' for that website search, ken ya can search the website wi that booklet thing. A buy a Scotsman mainly the day on a Saturday! Aye when they've got somethin on offer oot.

Ken a DVD or somethin. A want that DVD and buy the bleedin paper. A buy the Scotsman when it's got a free offer and A buy the Evening News on a daily basis, Aye, Aye an' A get the Star just every other day!"

"A get the News for the thingmae on a Saturday cause its for the TV, the digital. It depends if Hearts done well on Saturday I'll buy the Evening News on Monday, otherwise ... On Sunday A buy the Post⁴¹! But A refuse to buy it if the Hearts havenae done magic."

41 The Sunday Post is a weekly newspaper published in Dundee, Scotland by DC Thomson, and characterised by a 'folksy' mix of news, sentimental stories and short features.

The GDFLP SQA in Reading built upon this information from TJ using football newspaper cuttings to engage the adult learners. Further, TJ at the Spartans Football Academy, Tuesday 14th April 09 (P013), said “*A wiz at the Celtic vs. Hearts game at the weekend there an’ whaur’s that wifie Moira Gordon fae the newspaper – A cud write aboo” it!*”

I asked TJ if he would consider doing a match report on the Hearts vs. Celtic game using press cut-outs and, as he suggested, discussing it with Moira Gordon, the resident Scotland on Sunday Sports Journalist, who had done a presentation for us at during the Spring Programme. On Thursday of that week, at Hearts, 16th April 2009, TJ brought in a recent newspaper cutting about ‘Casuals’. I (P014) commented, “the fact that TJ is referring to articles that connect with the current curriculum surely displays a relevance of the literacy programme to him.”

5.7 Mahmud El Jazzir (MJ): “I don’t care if I lose or win it’s just playing football”

Nae bother; Nae bother!

“Hi Mahmud, you phoned. The deal tonight is that they are meeting Chris at the Hearts ticket office at 7.00 pm. He’s got 20 tickets for the Woman’s International Football Match; Scotland vs. Georgia”. I informed Mahmud. “I can’t go now John I’m here with a friend” said Mahmud El Jazzir. “Mahmud I’m sorry, are you at Tynecastle? I should have made the details clearer at the class on Thursday evening” I replied. “Nae bother; Nae bother!” Mahmud laughed, proud of his ability to use Scots language.

Mahmud El Jazzir 7th March 08

"OK, my name is Mahmud El Jazzir. I'm 28 and I'm from Libya. The first school it was like primary school, preparatory school eh eh its name Omar Mukhtar" said Mahmud as he sat in a Room in Tollcross Community Centre. "Yes we have preparatory school from 6 till 12 and we have Primary School from 12 till 15 and we have High School or Secondary School from 15 or 16 till 18 I think."

Mahmud informed the GDFLP, later that year, that Omar Mukhtar was the leader of the Libyan resistance movement against the Italian military occupation of Libya for more than twenty years. On that evening, Mahmud displayed a pride in his country's history, a pride in his newfound support for Heart of Midlothain Football Club and, as importantly, a pride in the Glory and Dismay Programme. "In the project, we are all friends" Mahmud is fond of uttering.

"My city, it's not the capital, a small city, called Darnah. My football team Ahly is from other city. But, like my friend Fauzi, I'm from Darnah. Yes. The Secondary School is ... eh Brahim ... – the famous point." "How do you mean a point? A famous school or?" I enquired, feeling confused. "He did a lot of poetry about Libyan History." "A poet – right right got ya! Got ya and so your school was named after a famous Libyan poet?" I said feeling illuminated. Mahmud illuminated us further at Heart of Midlothian Tynecastle stadium one Thursday evening when referring to poetry as the earliest form of Arabic literature.

In the interview with me, he described his educational and professional career. "After school I attend to go to Tripoli, the capital, to study German language, German." MJ began to tell me. "But at that time they closed because of lack of teachers at that university and changed my direction to English language and I studied at a university, English language."

But all my Professors were not native speakers and we have to study a lot of Arabic subjects beside English language. We studied eh a little bit about the English literature and eh ... Shakespearean and eh ... Dickens, Charles Dickens some stories like eh 'A prisoner of Zenda'; Mayor of Casterbridge; ... Eh eh and yeah and it was from 1998 until 2002 ... I enjoyed it because I have a lot of friends.

I don't care if they are younger than me or older than me ... I just want to get a lot of friends - because my friends is everything in my life ... Yes ... to playing football every time! I like playing football and swimming! Nae problem; nae problem!"

His love of football has introduced him to what Giulianotti (2005: 339) describes as 'a crucial domain for the cultural politics of Scottish voice, particularly among males, and thus a vibrant research focus for developing a critical anthropological analysis of voice per se'.

While noticing the 'politics of Scottish voice' represented in Scottish football, MJ enjoyed displaying the fact that he had literally picked up Scots language by constantly uttering "nae bather, nae bother."

My Team is Ahly

Mahmud was keen to clarify that "Actually, I'm not interested in watching football. I'm interested in playing football more than watching football because eh for eh sometimes in Libya you can't get access to watch international eh champions like eh eh like Champions League like ... You can't get access. If you want to get this access it's somehow expensive. I don't care about watching ... but for example to say the highlight; the news; reading a newspaper; local newspaper eh something about eh international football eh and what's going on in the rest of the world OK but I'm really interested in about playing football not watching it."

Mahmud sat back proudly and reminisced. "I was 6 years old. My father told me that when you see the football your body starts shaking and you want to kick the ball - and running behind the ball - just like this ..."

Mahmud laughs. He asserts, "I want to play with my friends because I'm happy if I win or I lose. Some people get angry if they lose - I don't like this. I don't like this.

One time, I remember just one time, I played ... because ... they put me in hard situation because I played ...always ... like defence ...they put me in hard situation, big responsibility for me - I had to stop everybody ..."

Mahmud laughs! "I remember I met Irish guy here in Edinburgh. We played football ahhh together a lot and he asked me did you play Rugby before? ... Rugby because I was very physical in my defence. ..." Mahmud laughs!

"But actually - I don't care if I lose or ... win it's just playing football I have fun and friends - that's my point." Mahmud is keen to give more explanation "Eh, I'm from Darnah and I support another team not from my city Darnah - it's from Benghazi, the economical capital in Libya. Actually this team is very well behaved and they have no troubles and they have no ... this team is not aggressive like other team or other fans and ... the most interesting thing about the fans of Ahly they don't do any problem at all! They start in 1950 and from 1950, till this day, they didn't do any problem at all - in the Libyan Championship. That's why I ... support this team and I like the fans because they are not aggressive they are very friendly! They are very behaved people and if you are one of this fan you will be pleased because you don't have to swear for other fans, you don't have to be aggressive to other fans, because you know your players are very good players and if they lose, it's football!

Maybe sometimes, you win and sometimes you won't. Eh Ahly is usually third ..." Mahmud laughs! "But the Capital teams, there are two teams and they are ... *Al Ahly (Tripoli)* and *Al Ittihad* but my team is Ahly."

English as an Additional Language

Mahmud looks at the newspaper on the table in Room 4 and says "Actually I ... eh ... interested in Metro (free newspaper). Yes, because I don't have free time to read the Guardian or Independent and the language is not so easy to understand. And ... you know Metro and Sun they depend on pictures and a type of font – a big font. It's easy to read, it attracts you but for Independent or Evening News or Guardian they are focus on something else on the writer, the author, don't focus on the table the font I mean. I pick up Metro on the bus."

Auerbach (1992: 04) argues that 'key to successful literacy acquisition is the extent to which literacy is rooted in and integrally related to issues of importance in learners' lives.' The Glory and Dismay tries to use a big font and pictures in its materials, to which Mahmud refers, to engage learners in both literacy acquisition and critical thinking using the issues surrounding football. Learners such as Mahmud, thirst for information about football both in the Metro and in television. *"When I have the time I watch highlights sport. I like the highlight and ... on I think Wednesday or ... Thursday – I think Wednesday – because you can watch all the scores, all the results. Just summarises all the matches – not all the matches. I watch BBC News; Sports BBC News."*

In Libya but interest in documentaries eh programmes eh for us in the Mediterranean Sea you can get a lot of Channels, Arabic Channels from the Middle East like Al Jazeera Documentary; Dubai Documentary; Qatar Documentary and eh hh other channels but the most famous one is Al Jazeera Documentary because they have like eh hh they have contract between Al Jazeera Documentaries and BBC Documentaries. They buy some documentaries from BBC and translate it to Arabic."

Mahmud suggests that he watches documentaries when he is staying in Scotland in order 'to pick up the new vocabularies and eh hh ... Sometimes I watch TV and I bring my Dictionary, Longman Dictionary, English Dictionary – I pick up some words just ... to check it and the dictionary ... if eh hh if it is meaning - if there is a lot of meaning – I mean eh for some words you can get a lot off synonimies (?) and antimonies (?) from one vocabulary.'

Mahmud and the Glory and Dismay

Mahmud sits further back in his chair and reminisces further on his experience with the Glory and Dismay. "The Glory and Dismay ... I knew about this Glory and Dismay from Fawzi ... my friend ... he is here more than five years and ... he gave me a lot of informations about some courses like this. Really, I ... do need to involve and participate like these courses. Because ... I can say I'm foreign but I feel quite good about Edinburgh and I can feel the people here are friendly people but how can I contact with them and where can I contact with them but some people ... busy all the time and they don't know me and how can I start speaking with them? How can I have a conversation with them and a conversation about what. ... That's why involve and participate in this course and if I have free time I'll not leave any chance to miss ... I decided to involve this course to get local friend ... I mean Scottish friends from Edinburgh.

I found a lot of them are not from Edinburgh but from Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen and some of them ... England. Like we have Graham from Newcastle I think – he's not Scottish, he's English and he is quite nice guy ...” Mahmud laughs! ‘Even though he is English?’ I say.

Mahmud, I feel, is picking up on the rivalry against the English played out in the discourses around Scottish football, a discourse which Giulianotti (2005: 339) suggests contains more serious connotations such as the ‘evidence of political claims to primordial Scottish identity stretches back to at least the 14th Century. Yet this ‘submerged’ nation has never had a modern autonomous state, and remains locked into the UK nation-state system.’ Mahmud laughs again but asserts more seriously, *“The Glory and Dismay has helped me... of course! To study English! To study any language you have to do a lot of practicing! Practice ... I mean conversations. Not like listening and writing. You have to use your ... vocabularies.*

You have to say it more than seven times a day ... to get the exact pronunciation – to collect eh and to conject (?) conjunction your sentences. I mean your sentence ... to make a sentence ... to make a very good sentence. You can see my English is not perfect! But last ... Thursday, before last Thursday, we used a word like ‘referee’. It’s real to use it ... whatever you read ... whatever you hear ... whatever you listen to ... to ... to documentaries or to ... or to eh news ... you can hear this word to ‘referee’ ... it’s used. It’s very common, I mean.” Mahmud gives an example of one of the words, ‘referee’ from the word list the GDFLP has developed.

Do you think we are at war with anybody?

Concerned to take Mahmud and myself out of the comfort zone of football I ask Mahmud if he considers us to be at war with anybody. "Are we at war with Hibernian Are we at war with Hearts?

Are we at war with England? Are we at war with Ireland? Are we at war with Terrorism? Are we at war with Islam? Do you think we are at war with anybody?" I ask. "War? W – A – R? No actually ... No. No" he replies.

Mahmud, however, is in a difficult position compared to other adult learners on the GDFLP in that he is a Libyan citizen and a migrant. I probe further with my question "Do you believe everything you read in the newspapers?" *"Not actually but ... if there is if there is a statement to tell you some information ... I don't like to be ... sceptical about ... I don't like to be a sceptical about these theories but if ... it is ... if it is OK, I mean if it ... if it is not extremely eh lying it's OK! It's not bad for everybody.*

It's not hurt anybody – it's OK mmm eh yeah for example I read the news about a football player about his social life and I'm not sure if this journalist is telling the truth or not but I don't care if it is the truth or not" Mahmud laughs! "I'm just interested in reading or listening or something like this"

I ask Mahmud to read out the Sun Editorial (Appendix 8). "Eviction Time? Do you think Gordon Brown should get tough on illegal immigrants who commit crimes or not?" I ask Mahmud. *"OK, ... if we compare between the situation here in Britain as general and ... in Libya eh we can see ... obvious that English people treat very kindly with ... with other foreign peoples ... even they are illegal immigration ... OK eh because Britain is not that big country and there are a lot of foreign people and this foreign people whatever if they are legal or illegal ...*

.... about I mean about their carriers*⁴² they occupied all the jobs instead of native civilians I mean because the foreign accept any price ... any wages ... just they want to stay here in Britain. Doesn't matter if legal or illegal. Doesn't matter if it's bad money or good money ... I mean black money. It doesn't matter ... I can see its obvious Britain government treat kindly with immigration and yeah (nervous laughter) we say God bless you the service for ... for foreigners ... Britain improve ... Health Service free for them Yes there is a lot of tax but for Britain service

I mean the Councils around Britain I mean it's like nothing! All the taxes are nothing if we compare the tax ... with Service here. Sorry, I mean a lot of ... foreign people they can't get these facilities in their countries."

Mahmud's nervousness was apparent. Amnesty International (2008), in its report on Libya, point out that 'freedom of expression continued to be severely restricted, exemplified by the absence of independent NGOs and repression of dissident voices. Refugees, asylum-seekers and migrants continued to be ill-treated in detention, but the government failed to address the legacy of past gross human rights violations. The UN Human Rights Committee commented that 'almost all subjects of concern remain unchanged' since it last examined Libya's record on civil and political rights in 1998.' The point is that Mahmud's experience of human rights and justice in Libya provides, according to Amnesty International, a poor base line from which to start comparing and contrasting with other nations such as the Scotland / UK.

Mahmud was keen to point out that "I met some people they have English passport but originally they are not English ... I can't say all of them but let's say 20 per cent are bad people ... Yeah they are bad people.

I'm always asking myself is why British Government cannot take this British passport and send them back because they have record in Police Station.. Send them back to their countries? This is absolutely the good thing to do. To send them to jail is not bad punishment and to sell* them as soldiers to ... the war in Iraq this is not fair because they are bad people. How dare you to give them guns to go to war and ... to punish like ... jail I think is not a good idea but to send them back their countries is a good idea. Send them back to their countries because they are causing a lot of problems here ... This is my opinion but I can't say this is the best thing because a lot of people have different point of views."

The Glory and Dismay and Competing Perspectives

"Do you think the Glory and Dismay in any way at all has given you a different perspective on the world?" I asked Mahmud. "Yes! Yes! ... this course ... we are not from the same nation. We are from other nations. From different various nations and we respect ourselves and we respect each other and we don't use aggressive words, strong words ... like swearing or racism... We don't use this and we don't have problem with each other but it's the object situation ... we're friends. My ...my view to Britain is different from when I was in Libya. I see them ... this ... what I thought was not completely wrong but I thought something wrong ... I quite understand the society. Uh uh mmm Nae Bother! Nae Bother!!!"

Compassion is far more central to Islam than jihad!

Mahmud returned to the GDFLP in late 2009 after returning home to Libya, for a while, holding down a job at McDonalds in Gorgi, which meant he had to work on a Thursday evening. At the GDFLP at Hearts' Stadium, 12th November 2009.

Mahmud engaged in a theological debate stimulated by PA (a fellow learner) when he said, "See thae Arab footballers man, they're aw shoe bombers an' Al Qaeda an' that eh? Fuckin' shoe bombers eh?" (laughter). I intervened with ground rule 'Nae Swearin'.

Mahmud felt confident to take issue with PA about the shoe bomber, "I'm a Muslim and an Arab and I don't think God would like the idea of blowing up planes or anything like that. Islam is about compassion and goodness and doing what God wants, not blowing up Planes!" Steven James (SJ) agreed, "Aye but, whit if ye pit Good fir God like thae are in America. There wiz a conference recently in New York or Harvard or somewhere where they wir lookin' at the idea of 'Good without God' or somethin' eh?"

MEJ looked perplexed and said, "How can you have Good without God? Compassion represents the true spirit of Islam. Compassion is far more central to Islam than jihad!" SJ responded, "Aye but dae you need God tae be compassionate? Eh?" MEJ replied, "I'm a Muslim and I think you need God. God guides humanity to the right way, the holy way!" As if to congratulate Mahmud, SJ shouted "Go on yersel' Mahmud! Go on yersel' son!"

5.8 Discussion

My aim in this chapter was to represent the voices of six learners through case studies I have re-constructed from a range of data sources. While I think the case studies speak for themselves, it is also possible to highlight specific ways in which the case studies help answer my research questions. The questions were:

Main question:

What are the learners' experiences of the Glory and Dismay
Football Literacies Programme (GDFLP) (MQ)?

The sub-questions :

1. What do learners say about the impact of the GDFLP (SQ1)?
2. What meanings does the GDFLP have for learners (SQ2)?
3. How does experience of the GDFLP connect with previous literacy and learning experiences (SQ3)?
4. What progress in functional and critical literacy acquisition can be evinced using learners' account, researcher's observations and assessment materials (SQ4)?

GDFLP's Impact on Learners' Functional Literacy Acquisition

To answer SQ4 and in particular, to assess the GDFLP's impact on learners' functional literacy acquisition, the following summarises learners' own perceptions of functional literacy (Section 3.6 for discussion on functional literacy).

In Chapter 3, I stated that this research is an attempt to describe the world from an adult learners' perspective. This is a perspective that has been underused in the field of adult literacy and numeracy (ALN) education.

People attend adult literacy classes for a variety of reasons. The reason people attend the GDFLP is, as discussed in Chapter 2, because of their own perceived ALN difficulties, and through the 'carrot' of football. Originally, adult learners self-referred, however, with the establishment of the GDFLP agencies have begun to promote the programme and encourage new learners to attend.

Those adult learners who have attended have all said that the GDFLP has helped develop their reading and writing skills. SJ, for example, said before attending the course "A' wouldnae write." Nevertheless, through the GDFLP, Steven James said that:

A' got introduced tae poetry an' since then ... A' brought the Shankly⁴³ poem in and A' wrote a poem and it got printed by yursels in a wee booklet. But it introduced me to poetry which A' wasnae really intae an noo when A' seen that it took me into Shankly's poetry which was a social thing aboot that era an that time an how he took his dream elsewhere and it's a sort of motivational poem ... eh ..." "an' and the people A' met A' loved.

In terms of the impact of the GDFLP, several examples can be given. For SJ, the acquisition of literacy skills within the GDFLP has had a profound impact on his ability to establish social relationships and employability skills. For example, it gave him both the literacy skills and confidence to write for his Community Newspaper. AMJ, similarly, said the GDFLP assisted in developing his reading and writing skills. While his brief comments do not tell us much about his literacy development, his engagement with the literacy curriculum of the project is most apparent in my participatory observations. For example, my 3rd March 09 PO2 notes highlight:

It was obvious that AMJ's ability as a literacy learner had improved as he started to write the names and football teams down of learners who didn't feel confident to do so.

On Thursday evening, Willie Bauld Suite, Heart of Midlothian FC, 5th March 2009 (PO3), it was recorded that:

AMJ had gone away and got a newspaper cutting and read it out about the victory of 6 – 2 Hibs beating Hearts with Mika-Matti "Mixu" Paatelainen scoring a hat trick.

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Bill Shankly: Former Liverpool F.C. Manager originally from West Coast of Scotland

Mixu, JMA informed the class, is fondly remembered by Hibernian supporters for his hat-trick in a 6-2 victory over rivals Heart of Midlothian on 22 October 2000. The group collectively looked up the word 'Contortionist' with AMJ jumping up and spelling it without a dictionary and writing it up on the flip chart.

AMJ's willingness to bring in newspaper cuttings, to look up difficult words by effective use of the dictionary helped shape a positive identity in the GDFLP. This identity, AMJ himself argued at the GDFLP Celebratory Event 12th September 2009 helped AMJ in securing a full time job as a hospital auxiliary.

I noted also that AMJ helped BT with the more difficult words when reading aloud and he complemented BT on her efforts, as did many in the Group. Indeed AMJ said after that this was the first time she had felt able to read aloud in a group. BT subsequently, with support from AMJ, went on to read out her contribution to the *Glory and Dismay; Our Story of Football* booklet (Scottish Book Trust et al 2009) at the International Literacy Day event in Glasgow, 8th September 2009 organised by Learning Connections and Scottish Government. AMJ's role as teacher / learner, which was nurtured by the GDFLP, paid off. AMJ's dialogue around a more complex vocabulary in the GDFLP class inspired other learners such as BT.

Another learner, RS, is forthright about his experience of the GDFLP when he argues:

The GDFLP has helped ma reading and writing skills. Yeh. A' am bein' truthful, it has helped ma writing a little bit and ma readin' is getting' a bit better. A've got the *Heartfelt* book! A'm half way through that."

RS also said, 'It's gave me readin' and writing skills and A've enjoyed every session A've come tae', reminding one of Freire⁴⁴'s insight (1990: 24) that 'Reading has to be a loving event.'

When I asked FK, an adult learner with a recognised learning disability, if he thought the GDFLP has helped his reading and writing skills in any way, he answered:

Oh Yes! Definitely! Yeh! Because, the way A've see it ... the way A see it is ...

A've listened to other people and A've listened to what they've said and A've put it up here and made ma own final decisions ... and some of it A' agree ... and some of it ... A don't ... depends ... depends on the subject and what A' s do A' say to ma sel' 'no that's no right' and then A judge it ma own way and A say tae them ... and then A'll probably ... later on in the session A'll probably say 'right A think you were a wee bit outae touch bit ... the way A' see it is if you listen more and listen to what the rest of the people say ... that's one good way of learnin' education.

FK lists specific skills the GDFLP has enabled him to develop, such as 'listening'; 'decision making'; 'critical evaluation'; and 'paying attention and concentration'. By so doing, FK has highlighted in his own way the 'meaning and impact' for him, of the GDFLP.

MEJ, likewise, said the Programme had helped him in his vocabulary development and sentence construction. MEJ stressed the importance of continual practice in assisting him in English language acquisition.

44 Cited in Horton, Myles & Freire, Paulo. Edited by Bell, B. Gaventa, J & Peters, J (1990) *We Make the Road by Walking: Conversations on Education and Social Change* Philadelphia, Temple University Press

The GDFLP, he argues, provided a creative and regular forum for such practice.

This positive self-assessment of the GDFLP's impact on assisting learners' literacy acquisition is corroborated by all 9 semi-structured interviews. Moreover, it is supported by the success of 8 learners successfully achieving the 'Reading' component of the full SQA (Scottish Qualifications Authority) module in Communications Level 2 & 3, which the GDFLP adapted and modified by giving it a football context, whilst ensuring that no learner could 'fail' it.

Impact on Learners' Critical Literacy Acquisition (SQ4)

In Chapter 4, I referred to Mayo's (1995: 363) description of critical literacy as a 'process whereby a person becomes empowered to be able to unveil and decode the ideological dimensions of texts, institutions, social practices and cultural forms such as television and film, in order to reveal their selective interests.' I added some questions relating to 'war' and used a tabloid editorial as a prompt to determine learners' ability to critically assess these forms of media texts. I was seeking to establish whether or not the dominant discourse of, for example, 'war' was intertextually linked to the Sun editorial. My CDA analysis indicated that war was a key metaphor in football discourse and I wanted to explore a) how learners' engaged with this metaphor with regard to football, and b) whether their engagement with this discourse in football carried over to other news items and the extent to which these metaphors in general were taken on board uncritically or whether involved some contestation.

When I asked Alan Murray Johnston's (AMJ) if he felt we were at war with anybody, he replied, "There is only one war just now with Iraq. And A' feel for people that are out there".

I commented, however, that while AMJ was articulating an anti-Iraq war stance he nevertheless supported the anti-immigration position put forward in the Sun editorial.

AMJ said, “A’ feel that the asylum seekers that come here are only after the money and then go away back to their own place where they’ve came fae”. However, just over a year later, while exploring the Sun headlines in response to the Hillsborough disaster in Liverpool, AMJ said that the Sun “will dae anythin tae sell newspapers”. AMJ was critiquing the legitimacy of the Sun’s ‘unsubstantiated’ claims the tabloid made about the Liverpool Fans.

Within the football context of the GDFLP curriculum, and its more familiar parameters, AMJ was able to critically assess the Sun editorial. This was augmented by a safe reflective space, which also included Nigerian and Libyan learners.

AMJ’s contradictory responses mirror the similar study, I refer to in Chapter 3, in which Malicky *et al* (1997: 100) point out that neither ‘reproduction nor oppression was complete. The comments and actions of the participants in the study reflected both dominant and oppositional ideologies.’ AMJ reinforced the contention that learners “arnae daft”, and their consent to dominant discourses is always partial.

Steven James (SJ) infers to this notion of managing popular consent through the mechanism of football many times. SJ said that football was a tool used to manage people because, after feelings of intense solidarity on the Saturday, when 147,000 fans would turn up for an international game, they would all have to go “Back to the same grind on the Monday”. It was “A form of population control”, he argued. SJ is clearly demonstrating the same analysis inferred to by Debord and the Situationists in their endeavour to explain the concept and power of the ‘Spectacle’ in late capitalism referred to in Chapter 2.

5.9 Conclusion

Here I map key points arising and reflected in the case studies against the research questions listed above in 5.8.

1. From the case studies above it would appear that, through the conduit of football discourses, narrative events, which are stored in individual and collective memory, are invoked and in turn spark off difficult memories (Steven James & Alan Murray Johnston).

Football narrative events are selected and used to begin to make sense of the trauma of the continual restructuring of society in industrial Scotland in the 20th and early 21st Century. The Steven James (SJ) and Alan Murray Johnston (AMJ) case studies provided insight into the meaning the GDFLP has for learners (SQ2 & SQ3).

2. Some classes proved so 'remarkable' and 'exceptional', from the learners' and my perspective, because they provided an educational experience that involved the collective deconstruction of the culture of football providing an insight into 'social history' (SQ2 & SQ3).
3. SJ recognised and articulated one evening the notion of football as a "form of population control." This discourse of football as social history is linked to an oral tradition that represents the silenced voice of the Scottish working class. Learners' accounts do seem to offer evidence that the social contextual approach to critical literacy inherent in the GDFLP can both, through oracy and literacy, give voice to that history of silence through the adult learner (SQ2, SQ3 & SQ4).

4. The case studies indicate the specific ways in which the programme facilitates what Ana Maria Araujo Freire (1997: 205) 'an atmosphere of hope and confidence'. Mahmud El Jazzir (MJ) saying about the other students, "We're friends". Alan Murray Johnston (AMJ) said, about the programme, "I love it". As importantly, SJ declared, "Where I get my inspiration is in the Glory and Dismay" (SQ1 & SQ2).

5. Learners' accounts reflect the fact that they sometimes experienced difficulty in maintaining the literacy focus because of the enthusiasms and passion for the topics discussed.

This is one of the challenges in drawing on such a powerful discourse in people's lives to draw on it for literacy learning (MQ)

6. Alan Murray Johnston (AMJ) described how much he loved going to Ibrox, a passion he has replicated in his attendance at the GDFLP. Tynecastle Stadium and Spartans Football Academy becoming, I observe, a surrogate Ibrox for AMJ. This is a key aspect of most learners' experiences (MQ).

7. Learners provided evidence of them critiquing some dominant discourses in the tabloid press and engaging in the Freirian notion of critical literacy. For example Alan Murray Johnston (AMJ), assented to the perceived dominant view about bogus asylum seekers but became more critical of the Sun when put in the football context of the Hillsborough disaster.

Mahmud El Jazzir (MJ), however, highlighted a contradictory perspective partly due to his migrant status. Learners' experience suggests that that the application of Critical Discourse Analysis works in only challenging certain assumptions or for some people, some of the time (SQ3 & SQ4Qs).

8. Freire's insights regarding learners *speaking their word* as the first step to becoming literate is backed up and supported by research, Sticht (2005), in particular, especially in relation to acquiring reading skills is supported by my research. The oracy dimension being particularly important for Steven James (SJ), Mahmud El Jazzir (MJ) and Fergus Keane (FK).
9. Learners, in response to my programme generated list, document specific skills the GDFLP has enabled them to achieve especially 'listening'; 'decision making'; 'critical evaluation'; 'paying attention and concentration'.

Other evidence in the case studies include acquisition of functional literacy, including spelling; dictionary searches; paragraphing; collective reading; successful completion of SQAs in component parts of Communications module; composition; and summarising texts (SQ4).
10. All learners say the GDFLP has helped them with literacy acquisition (SQ4)
11. The case studies provide evidence of the consequences of undiagnosed dyslexia and the lack of learning support (SQ3).
12. The universal language of football provided Mahmud El Jazzir (MJ) with a forum for learning English and highlighted the importance of the social aspect of learning by proving access to local community. It also provided insights for other adult learners into other cultures and histories. However, the aggressive Sun editorial prompt left the Libyan student in a difficult position given his vulnerable status within the country and may have led him to overstate its benefits and degree of tolerance (SQ1 & SQ2).

13. *Fitba* provides 'voice' for the Scottish working-class men, and some women, as well as pride; the earthy humour of local discourse; and popular aspiration. My research demonstrates that the Programme succeeds because it draws upon the celebratory power of *fitba*; creates a dynamic subject and setting for literacy learning and reaffirms particular forms of cultural identity rooted in the 'voice' of suppressed Scots language (MQ)

In Chapter 5, I've used mixed genre narratives to explore my research questions. These mixed genre narratives facilitate a description of the impact and meanings of GDFLP on hard-to-engage adult learners and succeed in evincing learners' literacy acquisition.

The narratives also powerfully illustrate the celebratory power of football as subject, context and setting for adult education.

In the Chapter 6, I will develop these initial conclusions; make recommendations for policy and pedagogy; develop my theoretical discussion and make concluding remarks.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

In this final chapter, I draw on the case studies in Chapter 5 to explore the extent to which my thesis has answered my research questions by:

1. Describing the importance of learners' 'speaking their word' as a precursor to literacy acquisition (6.3).
2. Discussing my research findings in relation to the ongoing issue of assessment of adult literacy attainment (6.4).
3. Discussing the implications of my findings with regard to undiagnosed learning difficulties (6.5).
4. Looking critically at my research methods (6.6).
5. Exploring the implications of my research on current adult literacy and numeracy policy developments (6.7).
6. Describing the implications of my research for my initial theoretical framing and providing subsequent theoretical developments (6.8).

Answering my Research Questions

In Chapters 4 and 5, I restated my research questions, which are as follows:

What are the learners' experiences of the Glory and Dismay
Football Literacies Programme (GDFLP)?

The revised sub-questions are as follows:

1. What do learners say about the impact of the GDFLP?

2. What meanings does the GDFLP have for learners?
3. How does experience of the GDFLP connect with previous literacy and learning experiences?
4. What progress in functional and critical literacy acquisition can be evinced using learners' account, researcher's observations and assessment materials?

In Chapter 5, I summarised findings which directly addressed sub-question 4 (SQ4) (Section 5.7) recognising that this is a highly debated area within literacy programmes and research. In Chapter 5, I presented a set of conclusions and this chapter will elaborate upon these. Here I focus, in particular, on the following aspects of my sub-questions, which are, impact, meaning and experience.

The Importance of Learners' 'Speaking their Word' as a Precursor to Literacy Acquisition

My research strengthens and supports the work done by Freire & Macedo (1987), Sticht (2005) and Green and Howard (2007) when they highlight the importance of 'speaking your word' and state that 'talk is work' in literacy acquisition. SJ epitomises the ability of learners to learn how to articulate their passions, reminisces and experiences, thereby giving meaning to their lives and to the lives of other learners. SJ is not unique in the GDFLP, but he is able to inspire and enthuse the literacy class with his reminiscences.

SJ demonstrates that learners have knowledge. The learners, in our experience as educators, invariably know more about the subject of football than the teacher. This creates a dialogical pedagogical situation that is transferable and applicable to other areas of popular culture (for example Boxing; Darts; TV Soaps; Reality TV; Celebrity Film & Magazines).

Sticht (2005 01) suggests that 'an oracy-to-literacy sequence of training would seem desirable in teaching vocabulary and concepts to unskilled readers'. The GDFLP experience took SJ 'on a roll' with the excitement for him as a learner being able to show off his knowledge and worth and then beginning to 'write his word' (Freire 1972). Moreover, reading aloud assisted AMJ, and, as importantly, AMJ helped others read aloud. This reading aloud, chapter by chapter, of football related texts overcame the 'culture of silence' (Freire 1972).

The assistance of a collective pedagogy is plainly demonstrated in my PO 13 (Participant Observation PO13), when:

At Spartans Football Academy, Tuesday 14th April 09 the full group started to collectively read the final Chapter (Chapter 22) from 'These Colours don't Run'⁴⁵ called 'The boy becomes a man'.

The experience of learners in oral discussion and interaction in the GDFLP highlights the importance of the social aspect of learning. This supports not only progression and achievements in more formal assessments (such as the SQAs), but, as importantly, maintaining learners within an educational context – or as Crowther et al put it – 'sustainability' (2008). Sustainability is achieved partly through the organisation of a curriculum that introduces regular speakers drawn from the celebratory world of professional football and popular culture.

45

Dykes, Derek and Colvin, Andy (2006) *These Colours Don't Run: Inside the Hibs Capital City Service* Ayr, Fort Publishing

They have included commentators such as Tom Purdy, mentioned in SJ's case study in Chapter 5, who is not only involved in the management and security in professional football, but also contributes by publishing photographs and text. Players, journalists, pundits help create a dynamic dialogue which catalyses discourse amongst learners. Discourse such as:

SJ and Tom talked about football as 'social history' (Tom's description) with Tom mentioning that at one point the old Hampden Park would attract 147,000 fans for a game.

Football vernacular discourses such as the ones between SJ and Tom Purdy are essential in assisting learners decipher and work out words in order to learn to read. For according to Sticht (2005: 01):

It is difficult to see how a person can learn to recognise printed words by "sounding them out" through some decoding scheme if, in fact, the words are not in the oral language of the learner.

6.4 Research Findings in relation to the Ongoing Issue of Assessment of Adult Literacy Attainment

In Chapter 3, I engaged with Fowler's work and refer to the theme of assessment. Fowler (2005: 110) proposes that assessment 'needs to record how people use literacy', and that, 'it was only through these case studies that learners and teachers acknowledged what learners were able to do'.

However, Green & Howard's (2007: 18) research highlights that the social practice approach, such as the one adopted by the GDFLP, is criticised for exempting adult literacy from accreditation. Such an approach, as Green and Howard (2007: 18) point out, accuse those practitioners of advocating the social practice model of 'operating with condescension and double standards and perpetuating exclusion.'

My research nevertheless highlighted the difficulties in using the BSA *Initial Literacy Assessment* (discussion in Section 4.11 regarding the request I made to FK) and how it changed my eagerness to carry out such tests.

As importantly, Brooks et al (2005:18) in their evaluation of the *Initial Assessment* (2nd edition) (Basic Skills Agency, 2002) instrument, comment that it is has a:

Very heavy weighting given to spelling in literacy marking scheme- potentially discriminatory against dyslexics. Question marks exist over the suitability of multiple-choice format and the effects of this on validity.

I took Brookes et al's comments, conclusions and recommendations into consideration (Section 4.12) and the issues surrounding FK and abandoned the BSA 'testing'. Nevertheless, the GDFLP did decide, along with CLAN (City, Literacy and Numeracy Project) Edinburgh, to assist learners achieve the SQA (Scottish Qualifications Authority) 'Reading' component of their 'Communications 2 & 3 Module. Certain social practice provisos were insisted upon, however. These included: an insistence that the 'Reading' component is related directly to the football context (Appendix 1) that attracted the learners; there would be no 'teaching to test' (Lankshear & Knobel 2009: 60); if adult learners turned up and applied themselves they would be accredited ensuring there would be no 'culture of failure'; and that there would be constant 'dollops of feedback' from tutors. Moreover, the 8 GDFLP adult learners who decided to do the SQA accreditation had been with the Programme for at least a year and 'owned' the decision to engage in the 'Reading' component.

Learners' experience of the GDFLP would support Green and Howard's (2007: 19) research when they propose that 'skills assessment can inform a learner centred approach to planning learning, progression and achievement.' (By 'skills' the authors are referring to literacy acquisition skills). Further, the learners' experience of the GDFLP in acquiring their SQA components would concur with Green and Howard's (2007: 19) view that 'it is possible to test *practices*'. Appendix 1 demonstrates a 'test' of football literacy practices.

Gillian Lawrence (2010), CLAN Training Officer refers to Illeris's (2006) social, emotional, and cognitive model of learning when she argues:

Building self-esteem, folks recognizing their own capabilities as learners, changing self-perceptions, which may be internalised through others' perceptions of learners as "deficient" or to blame, can for some folk be realized by recognizing achievements through external accreditation. Why should we not offer SQAs? It is part of the Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework and having qualifications can open doors – for individuals.

Of the 6 case studies accounted for in this research 4 out of 6 completed the SQA 'Reading' component which had a positive impact on learners self perception and confidence. This was evinced in the Celebratory event, 12th September 2009 Tollcross Community Centre, when the Scottish Justice Minister, Kenny MacAskill presented 20 students with GDFLP Course completion certificates and 8 students with the SQA award.

Lawrence (2010) nevertheless adds the important caveat, with which I strongly agree, arguing that:

a practitioner following social practices model would need to add in to the SQA Units more critical thinking and questioning of texts.

Football provides both the verbal and social context to develop critical thinking and the questioning of texts need to go beyond a formalistic question and answer session provided by the SQA example in Appendix 1. My Participatory Observation 16 (PO16) providing detail of a class who were collectively reading about the possible 'Red Knights⁴⁶' buy-out of Manchester United football club.

The written observation also highlighted that the metaphor of football could be used to explain economic terms such as 'bondholding, stock and shares and profiteering' and develop vocabulary by learning and 'sounding out' such words as 'phenomenon' into the GDFLP 'Word Books'.

6.5 Learning Difficulties

Tam Jackson provided insight into the wrath felt by adult learners who didn't receive learning support when he attended the formal education system. For example, he candidly argued:

Nae official, what's it called again, full education as in writing, spelling, yes tae ma face, but I couldnae understand them cause of ma dyslexia, A couldnae understand piss! It's like pissin up a wall and hit your fuckin face with the piss!

TJ's anger is overwhelming and gives insight into the consequences of undiagnosed dyslexia, which are apparent, for example in the penal system (Adams 1999; Kirk and Reid 2001). The failure of the education system to support TJ check is eloquently portrayed with self-effacing humour:

⁴⁶ The Red Knights consortium is led by Jim O'Neill, chief economist of Goldman Sachs, Keith Harris, chairman of City broker Seymour Pierce and Paul Marshall, founder of London-based hedge fund Marshall Wace. All are avid Manchester United fans.

Ye cannae write, ya cannae spell, ya cannae understand countin' so they called ya slow! Now they've got the idea if you ask aw the kids who come in a class of 36 or 28 that if he sounds it like a word and the best one A can come up wae is the one that you cannae spell easily 'cholesterol', that's the best one. Try and spell that on a fuckin dyslexia idea you fuckin cannae get by 'cholest'!

It was evident that TJ had self diagnosed his learning difficulty when he pointed out that he 'figured it oot ma self!' TJ's heartfelt frustration is narrated in an unusually descriptive way:

A couldnae understand spellin! A looked at it! What do you caw these things? It's like lookin at a paper! Yer still lookin at the same paper 40 minutes later! 50; 60 it's no changed. The picture at the top, its aw right ya can understand that, it's a picture.

That's it. That's aw ya see the picture at the top and that's it. The paper is nae bleedin good, for three reasons because of the words, it like the what's it cawed again? They caw it a 'dancin' believe me yer dyslexic! If your dyslexic you can't see them.

TJ's detailed and intense narratives teach us about the complexities and contradictions of real life for a hard-to-reach adult learner and, as importantly, what it feels like to suffer a learning difficulty.

6.6 Critiquing / Scrutinising my Own Research

My research suffers from the criticisms applied to all qualitative research especially over the failures of being able to generalise from such a small qualitative research 'case-study' population. However, I feel that Flyvbjerg (2006: 226) provides a helpful retort when he points out that:

As regards the relationship between case studies, large samples, and discoveries, W. I. B. Beveridge (...) observed immediately prior to the breakthrough of the quantitative revolution in the social sciences: "More discoveries have arisen from intense observation than from statistics applied to large social groups" (p. 95).

This does not mean that the case study is always appropriate or relevant as a research method or that large random samples are without value (...). The choice of method should clearly depend on the problem under study and its circumstances.

The GDFLP provided for me as a teacher and researcher an opportunity for intense observation over a significant amount of time and I think the decision to focus on constructing 6 in-depth case studies to provide answers to my research questions was the right one. These case studies acted, not only as conduits to give 'voice' to Scottish Working class social history but as a form of social practices assessment of literacy acquisition and educational achievement. The decision not to use the BSA Initial Assessment tests based on one case study may also be described as a weakness, however, I have substantiated that decision by referring above to my reading of Brooks et al (2005: 22) assessment of this very test which was that for adult learners 'external assessment instruments are unlikely to reflect gains made, and other methods of assessing progress, including soft measures, should be considered.'

The challenges, in general, of seeking to engage with learners' experiences, I feel, were met by the usage of mixed genre narrative 'case studies'. This approach gave 'voice' to a traditionally subjugated and marginalised group of adults. A 'community development' challenge, I feel, would be to assist this group's voice being heard and turned into politically adept community action.

The decision not to include women learners in my research is a weakness, however, my adult literacy colleague, who attends the University of Glasgow in order to complete a BA in Community Development, is using the GDFLP as a research environment to explore barriers to participation for women who have attended or are attending the Programme.

6.7 Recommendations for Policy and Pedagogy

As highlighted in Chapter 3, there is a marked divergence in the policy approaches found in Scotland and England towards approaches to adult literacy. In England, primacy is afforded to the concept of literacy as an accumulation of discrete, technical skills, achieved through a national curricula and the application of testing. Skills for Life, as Green and Howard (2007: 07) point out, 'fits very much with other government strategies to address national skills issues. It does have a social inclusion aim but has been increasingly focused on supporting the drive for a high-skilled, competitive economy, delivering the LLN (low literacy, language or numeracy) and ICT that people need to allow them to develop the professional skills for sustainable productive employment.' Under a skills-orientated system such as Skills for Life, the focus is on summative assessment, a final test to determine success or failure at designated levels in a national standards framework. Literacy acquisition within this model is seen as a form of societal functioning and integration; an adjustment to, and acceptance of, the needs of a competitive, high-skilled economy. Learning is therefore indistinguishable from the development of the professional skills required for sustainable, productive employment. And in many ways the development of a national curricula within this Skills for Life approach with its universal, standardized application of technical skills, mirrors the processes inherent within commodification.

Scotland, on the other hand, and particularly through the findings and recommendations of the ALNIS report, has embraced the 'social practice' model. This argues that the development of literacy and numeracy can't be decontextualised, or, in other words, separated from the social, economic and political contexts within which learners find themselves. In effect, the Scottish model attempts to embrace the purposes of literacy, with recognition of its complex, problematic nature. However, the importance of functional literacy acquisition is not neglected. But alongside both Freire and Fingeret's approach, and indeed my own research, such technical skills are useless without the social knowledge that attaches meaning to words in context.

On the basis of my research I would recommend:

At policy level that;

1. My research provides evidence for the validity of the Scottish social practice model and suggests that this model more meaningful than the Skills for Life approach used in England by situating learning within popular culture, building on people's lives and experiences. A recommendation therefore based on my research is that this model should continue to be used in Scotland and could usefully be adopted in other contexts, e.g., adult literacy policy and programmes in England.

At design and pedagogic level that;

1. Critical literacy approaches complement functional literacy teaching (Section 5.7.2) by challenging 'taken for granted' dominant discourses.

2. This approach should be more firmly integrated within ALN (Adult Literacy & Numeracy) mainstream provision and underpin the training of adult literacy practitioners, the purpose being to encourage active citizenship amongst learners. Learners should have access to forms of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to enable them to develop a criticality to reflect on how they are positioned by dominant ideologies.
3. There should be a promotion of a collective approach to reading as a way of assisting learners' support and praise each other; sound out the phonetics of words and help with deeper understanding of texts by instigating dialogue.
4. Some form of negotiated and contextualised accreditation should be introduced in all programmes as well as qualitative assessment to ensure practical rigour (the SQA performs this function in the GDLFP).
5. The wider use of 'oracy-to-literacy' should be developed in adult literacy learning and in the training of adult literacy practitioners.
6. An inclusive approach that involves learners with disabilities should be encouraged.
7. The languages of learners (for example Scots) should be celebrated. Agreed ground rules should be acknowledged in the vernacular. Moreover, more space should be made for languages other than Scots and English.
8. A learning framework, which builds on learners' passions, should be promoted. This study has illustrated the importance of building on learners' passions, which in the case of the GDLFP, is football.

6.8 Theoretical Discussion and Concluding Remarks

I have drawn upon several theoretical perspectives within this study in order to understand, explain and contextualise the impact of the GDFLP on adult learners. These are derived from various disciplines including pedagogical practitioners such as Freire and Fingeret, and political analysts such as Debord and Foucault, as well as discourse analysts such as Fairclough and Richardson. My research has built on, for example, Debord's notion of the 'Spectacle'; Freire's idea of 'internalised oppressor' and Fairclough's concept of 'intertextuality'.

The first perspective engages with the oft-competing concepts of criticality, educational rigour, and the application of forms of assessment through which literacy development can be assessed and measured. In other words, can such rigour take place within the dialogical pedagogy of the social practice model? Many commentators, such as Green & Howard (2007), argue that such models are in danger of perpetuating the exclusion of adult learners. For Freire (1972), of course, no such dissonance occurs, as a valid pedagogy must begin with the context in which learners find themselves. Rigour, in this viewpoint is fundamentally tied to the interplay of critical thinking with lived experience. To a certain extent this is supplemented by Fingeret's (1997) insistence on shifting emphasis from the development of discrete technical skills to refocusing on how learning impacts on participants' lives.

In effect, both Freire and Fingeret question: what educational development can occur within a context, which simultaneously ignores learners' experiences whilst reproducing the very paradigms which disenfranchised them?

The small scale research discussed in this thesis indicates that the GDFLP's goal of giving priority to the development of critical thinking about such paradigms, and the dominant discourses which underpin them is in part successful. My interviews with AMJ and MEJ, for example, would highlight that the dominant media discourses are partially internalised but are capable of being challenged.

As football is culturally central to many Scots' lives, it represents a channel through which such discourses are constructed, reproduced and internalised. Hegemony – both ideological and political – is partly transmuted through the medium of football. However, hegemony is always capable of being challenged; it's up for grabs. As Malicky (1997) points out, there is always a degree of consent to such discourses, achieved partially through a sedimentation effect, whereby the language of a particular discourse permeates, filters and settles within both an individual and collective consciousness. Similarly, the use of the 'spectacle' has been an invaluable theoretical tool with which to understand how, through football, everyday life is colonized and populations are managed.

The role of the adult educator, I would argue, is both to study, alongside learners, the extent of such consent, whilst providing the space to examine alternative, counter-hegemonic, forms of discourse. The main mechanism within my research for examining both consent and dissent has been my use of Critical Discourse Analysis to deconstruct the tabloid press's intertextual linkages between the language of football and other, ideological aims, such as the exclusion and demonisation of the 'other'.

Other examples from my own practice include, for example, the St Pauli trip, exploration of Supporters Trusts and their resistance to global finance, and the constant theme of challenging homophobia.

The research has extended my own reflection and practice as an educator by highlighting the contradictions and complexities in learners' lives. These contradictions provide educational opportunities to introduce criticality. It is important to stress, however, that the role of the educator is not to enforce an alternative discourse; rather to provide the space within which critical thinking can occur and alternatives explored. My case studies indicate specific ways in which the GDFLP facilitates what Ana Maria Araujo Freire (1997: 205) calls 'an atmosphere of hope and confidence'. One participant said about the other students, "We're friends". Another said, about the programme, "I love it". Most importantly, a participant declared, "Where I get my inspiration is in the Glory and Dismay."

In theoretical terms, however, my own position is most clearly informed by the work of Freire and Fingeret, and by Pecheux (1982). Language is, of course, the main medium through which discourses, dominant or otherwise, are organized and reproduced. In many ways, this is particularly evident within football, where everyone is an expert and capable of lending an authoritative voice. However, according to Pecheux (1982), the meaning of a word, expression or proposition, cannot exist 'in itself'. Instead, the ideological positions and socio-historical processes determine meaning – the 'ideological formation' – within which words, expressions, etc., are produced and inscribed.

While Foucault offers useful strategies with which to identify and isolate discursive formations, Pecheux, in my opinion, takes this further, locating such formations within a class perspective. In fact, Pecheux describes this idea of a discursive formation as 'that which in a given ideological formation ... determines "*what can and should be said*"' (Pecheux 1982: 111, original italics).

My research is based entirely on an investigation of those from occupational class 5 and discovering *what can be said* through providing a critical and, hopefully, emancipatory voice for adult learners.

My research makes a start at unravelling how discourses are, as Marcuse (1968) describes ‘ideologically sedimented’ in the consciousness of the adult learners in the GDLP. The work of Marcuse connects strongly for me with both the goals of the GDLP and the way in which the research shows the programme seems to connect with learners’ experiences. Marcuse was fully engaged with the educational practice of ‘Learning Liberation’. For as Brookfield (2005: 54) points out:

Marcuse did not believe we could escape one-dimensional thought by relying on our own reasoning capacities. For him the creative force existed at a subliminal level, and its release could be triggered by aesthetic impulses. When adults experience deeply and powerfully a work of art such as a play, poem, picture, song, sculpture, or novel, they undergo a temporary estrangement from their everyday world.

This estrangement is disturbing in a productive and revolutionary way. It opens adults to the realisation that they could reorder their lives to live a fundamentally, more instinctual ethic. Marcuse called adults’ development of a new sensibility “rebellious subjectivity”.

This rebellious subjectivity suffuses the contradictory experience for adult learners of the football discourses and the GDLP and is best epitomised in Figure 6.1 by P4’s painting of ex Heart of Midlothian football captain, Steven Pressley, with which I would like to close this thesis.

In this thesis, I’ve described modern professional football and the discourses that surround them as a discursive formation that ‘manages populations’.

Learners in my case studies have said that this is also their understanding: *fitba* provides 'voice' for the Scottish working-class men, and some women, as well as pride; the earthy humour of local discourse; and popular aspiration. My research into the impact of the Glory and Dismay Football Literacies Programme (GDFLP) on hard-to-reach adult learners, if anything, demonstrates that the Programme succeeds because it draws upon the celebratory power of *fitba*; creates a dynamic subject and setting for literacy learning and reaffirms particular forms of cultural identity rooted in the 'voice' of suppressed Scots language.

Figure 6.1



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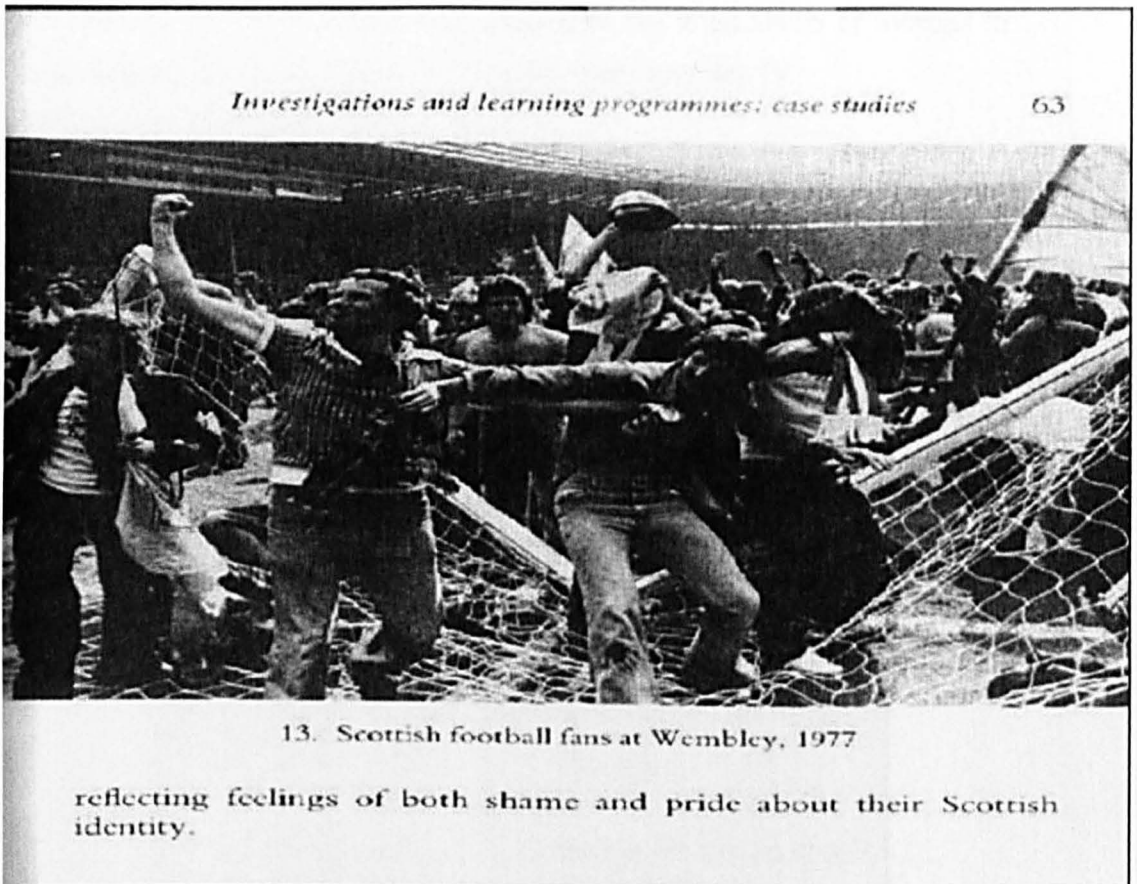
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Appendix 1 - Scottish Football Fans at Wembley



Appendix 2 - Reading Practices

1. The extract from the interview highlights the importance of football in encouraging learners access the Tabloid Press and Sky TV.

Data Extract

JP: Even with your reading difficulties and that how do you get your information about football and the Hearts? Do you read a newspaper?

TG: I read in the newspaper either the Sun or the Daily Record.

JP: So usually there is a newspaper in the house?

TG: Aye my sisters get it! And usually the Hearts Planet.

JP: And usually the Hearts Planet! So you read the Hearts Planet, the Sun and the Daily Record for your football?

TG: Uh uh

JP: Do you have Sky TV or Telewest for the Football? Do you watch the games on that as well?

TG: Sometimes

JP: Sometimes, you're also a Liverpool Fan and why Liverpool, with your Dad being a Manchester United fan, just to noise him up?

TG: Cause ma brother is a Liverpool fan! ... Graeme Souness, (Liverpool ex-manager and player, Scottish internationalist and football legend) took the first name.

JP: So you were named after Graeme Souness? Brilliant! So you read the Sun, the Hearts Planet and the Daily Record on a daily basis?

TG: Uh uh

JP: Do you read Stephen Presley's (former Hearts captain) column in the Evening News?

TG: I think he used tae hae a wee column in the Daily Record.

JP: So you've read that?

TG: Uh uh.

JP: How do find reading the newspaper? You can handle that? You can manage that?

TG: Sometimes, wae some letters a usually get my wee niece to help me.

JP: Your wee niece here?

TG: Uh uh

JP: So you've got over any embarrassment about that? What does that mean yeah yeah any body in the family will help?

TG: Uh uh

JP: So you read the football in the Sun and the Daily Record?

TG: Uh uh

JP: So will read anything else in the Daily Record?

TG: Nup

JP: Like International events? Or?

TG: I just flick through it

JP: Your priority, your main objective, if you like, is to read about the football?

TG: Uh uh

JP: Get rid of all the stuff on the Iraq War and everything to look at the football?

TG: Uh uh

JP: So you enjoy reading about the football?

TG: Uh uh, Yes.

JP: Especially about the Hearts and everything that is to do with the difficulties of the Romanov scenario and everything?

2. All respondents said that they bought the newspapers mainly for the football coverage.

- Scottish Daily Record (35 pence)
- Scottish Sun (15 pence)
- Daily Star of Scotland (15 pence)
- Scottish Daily Express (30 pence)
- Evening News (The Edinburgh Paper) (37 pence)
- Scottish Daily Mirror (40 pence)⁴⁷

All 4 interviewees in the pilot study said they read the Evening News; two the Daily Record; whilst two had access to the “Star” and the “Sun”, either in the household, or buying them at least twice a week. One respondent said he accessed the “Mirror” and the “Express” either from a newsagent or at his voluntary workplace.

47 The price of the tabloids to convey the relative accessibility even for those on income support/low wages.

Appendix 3 - Tabloid Newspaper Sample for CDA

The Daily Record

8 March 2007

GORD SO PROUD OF HIS BATTLING BHOYS

By James Traynor

GORDON STRACHAN piled praise on his players last night as they licked their wounds deep in the bowels of the San Siro.

Celtic had just failed to end their miserable run among the game's elite - last night's dramatic and heart-stopping 1-0 extra-time defeat by AC Milan was their 12th loss in 13 away matches in the Champions League - but their manager was in no mood to apportion blame.

Neither was he prepared to talk about failure. In fact, he was defiant and immensely proud of his men, who had conceded only a single goal to AC Milan in 210 minutes of football. He, like his heroes, was privileged to have been part of what he believes has been a wonderful journey of discovery.

And although the genius of Milan's Kaka has closed the Champions League door for another season, last night was not an end for Strachan and Celtic. Indeed, if he has his way, last night will go down as a beginning.

Having taken half an hour to regain composure after a game which tested the nerve of just about everybody inside Milan's massive and pulsating stadium Strachan said: "This whole experience has been great."

It's a terrific stadium, it was a terrific atmosphere and we had two teams giving everything. One of them had more technique, but the other had incredible heart and determination.'

No coconuts for guessing which team he was talking about. You could feel the pride he has in his own players and their willingness to find ways of compensating for any shortage in skills."

If nothing else Celtic are a team of believers and Strachan added: "If we can improve our technique then we'll be a good side. That's the vision because we already have an incredible will to win.

"So if we can improve the technique we can go on and maybe do more. But if there was a Champions League trophy for sheer guts and determination we would certainly be in with a chance of winning it.

"But right now I am tremendously proud of my players and I've told them all that. Now we need to improve and if we do that we'll be a match for anyone. Together we'll now go on and do something about that but we have the basis of a good squad."

Strachan could have joined in the debate that was raging throughout the night in Milan's bars over the Austrian referee's decisions when it seemed Paolo Maldini had handled Jiri Jarosik's shot early on and then, late in the second half when it looked as though Massimo Ambrosini had hauled Shunsuke Nakamura down in the Milan box.

But he thought better of it and preferred to let his players enjoy their experience without adding to any controversy. Besides, Lee Naylor could have given away a penalty when he brought down Filippo Inzaghi.

Also, TV replays after the match showed the official, a part-time actor, might just have put in an Oscar-winning performance himself. He might just have called the incidents correctly.

Strachan, though, wasn't interested and said: "I don't want to speak about anything like that because I think this night belongs to the players. It was a fantastic night and it belongs to them and the fans."

The manager did, however, admit when he saw Kaka rifle a shot off the bar late on he really believed Celtic might win. He said: "Yes, I thought then that this could be our night but we did well and I'm proud of them all.

"And as I've said, this isn't the time either to talk about how and where we go from here. Let's just leave the players to enjoy the praise that should come their way after this game." Celtic, of course, must now prepare for Sunday's Old Firm match at Parkhead and their medics will have to work wonders to get the likes of Stephen McManus, who was superb again even though he has a groin injury, and Jan Vennegoor of Hesselink back on their feet.

Then again, with Boruc behind them Celtic have every right to feel confident and Strachan found himself having to field a question about whether he feels Boruc is good enough now for AC Milan.

He said through the interpreter: "Just tell that cheeky sod to keep his questions to himself."

Milan manager Carlo Ancelotti was also impressed by the keeper but he was even more taken by Celtic's support. He said: "They were really behind their team and their team played a very open game. Listen, you can still hear them out there singing and that is unusual here. Normally it is our fans who make all the noise here.

"But I knew it would be like this. I knew it would be hard and although we had to wait a while for the goal I was not too worried. "Kaka has great speed and is an important weapon for this team but Celtic have played well and I thought they exploited their own qualities." Ancelotti admitted Celtic proved a worthy rival for his experienced side.

Appendix 4 - Reflection - CDA and my 'Lived' Research Journey

I was fortunate to present my findings to a CDA conference at the University of Birmingham in June, 2007. There I was able to experience how academic discourses construct and positions participants to ensure one becomes '*subjects of its power / knowledge*.' At the conference, however, I managed to unsettle the keynote speaker, Norman Fairclough, by commenting that his hour-long introductory lecture was CRAP. I said he had offered critique (CR), an analysis (A) but I asked where was his prescription (P)? Fairclough firmly defended his contribution, but was satisfactorily 'noised up' to come and hear my presentation. My purpose in making such an intervention was to challenge the deference I perceived in academia to those who had succeeded in benefiting from, using Freire's (1972: 46) terminology, the 'banking concept' of education. Freire (1972: 46) explained that in the banking concept of education, 'knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing.' The experience helped me sharpen and clarify the need for an adult education, which stresses 'the dialogical character of education'. (Freire 1972: 65) At the same time, my somewhat belligerent intervention with Fairclough in Birmingham proved to have positive outcomes.

Norman Fairclough subsequently, and kindly, introduced me to John Richardson who had just written *Analysing Newspapers; an approach from critical discourse analysis*. In many ways, Richardson had partly resolved my first research question. His book, which was aimed at producing more critical language users, represented an analysis of newspapers from the perspective of CDA. Richardson (2007: 66) helped me most when he outlined the use of metaphor in discourse analysis. He argued that:

Certain types of metaphor are associated with specific genres of journalism. Metaphors of war are frequently, indeed ubiquitously, employed in sports reporting.

In most sports, we talk about 'attack and defence', about 'counter-attack'; we 'shoot for goal' or shoot at goal': if one side is subject to prolonged period of pressure they can be said to 'under siege'; a team can get slaughtered' by the opposition, etc. The players in our teams, or the more successful members of our teams, are often labelled 'heroes' or 'our boys'; the less successful are labelled 'villains' or, in the case of Paula Radcliffe after she dropped out of the 2004 Olympian marathon, a 'causality of war' (Daily Mirror, 23 August 2004).

Such a metaphorical framework shapes our understanding of sport as an extraordinary activity – an activity that allows us to abandon reason and sense of proportion.

Thus Richardson concurred with both Fairclough's and my view that the metaphor of 'conflict and battle', and indeed 'war', is significant in terms of the newspaper's embedded claim to a relationship of solidarity and common identity with the audience.

Appendix 5 - Transcription Glossary and Conventions (Key) used in Transcriptions

JP = researcher

XX= participant learner

.,;?!=punctuation conventions used to indicate in writing my understanding of the sense of the spoken words (Halliday 1989: 90)

*= unclear speech

(additional comments)= (e.g. (laughter), (thinking) (angry) etc.

...=long pause

(?) inaudible; unclear, indecipherable

... means a brief pause

--- cuts from text/transcript

Transcription of speech details and notes on Scots*: I am not aiming to offer a complete transcription of the spoken sounds but consider it important to give a strong flavour of the Scots language/dialect and accent that learners used, and to indicate the difference in their language use from mine. Examples below are of the ways in which I have represented their Scots variety.

Language Glossary

A⁴⁸ = I couldnae = couldn't
 cause = because didnae = didn't
 fir = for fae = from
 hae = have ma = my
 maself = myself naw = no
 nup = no roond = round
 tae = to uh uh = yes, yes
 wae = with wee = small

*After reflecting on the pilot I noticed that I represented myself in Standard English and the learners in a form of Scots. This may be actually a misrepresentation and the reasons are do to with politics of language (Kay 1993). However, I noted 2 issues:

1. The need to acknowledge and reflect about the powerful role of researcher / educator (role confusion)
2. The need to describe the fact that the interviewees' / participants' Scots usage is a more marked variety than min.

48 Macleod, Iseabail. Martin, Ruth & Cairns, Pauline (Eds) (1988) The pocket Scots dictionary Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press

Appendix 6 - Critique of Standardised Instruments for Testing

Summary of Brookes et al's (2005) overall critique of the available standardised instruments used for testing was bleak.

They argued that:

1. They could find no 'wholly suitable secured instrument' for adult literacy assessment.
2. The progress made by learners working towards Entry Level 1 is likely to be so personal and individual that external assessment instruments are unlikely to reflect gains made, and other methods of assessing progress, including soft measures, should be considered.
3. Very heavy weighting is given to spelling in literacy marking scheme - potentially discriminatory against dyslexics⁴⁹.
4. Question marks existed over the suitability of multiple-choice format and the effects of this on validity.

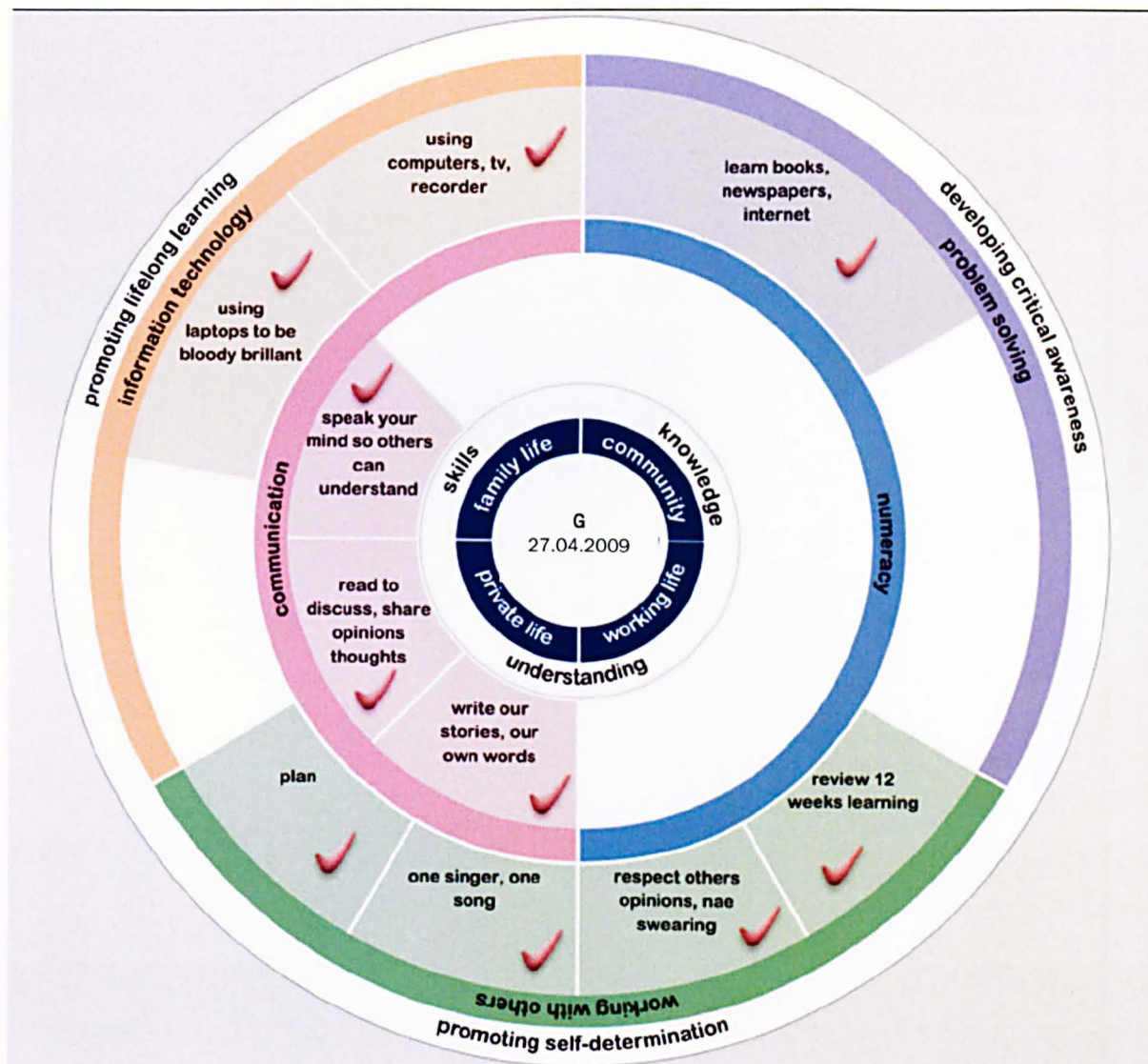
⁴⁹ Given that 2 out of 4 of the pilot study participants are dyslexic, this was a significant factor in questioning the Initial Assessment, Literacy, Version 2 (BSA 2002) as a useful instrument for my research.

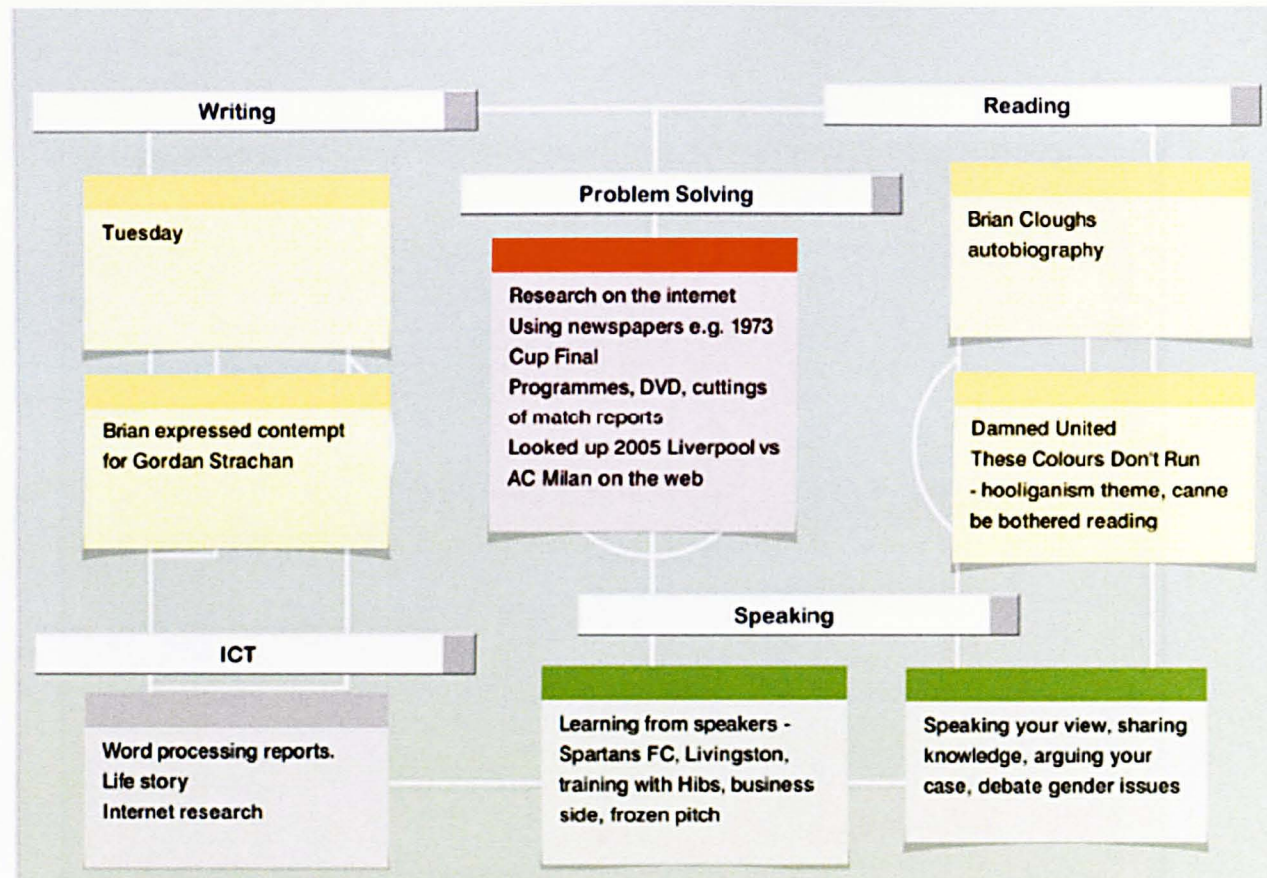
Based on these criticisms, Brookes *et al's* (2005) formulated a series of recommendations. These included:

5. A set of literacy assessment materials should be developed for the assessment of reading in literacy programmes, and these materials should be mainly in the form of open-ended response types.
6. Computer based assessment should not be used.
7. Especially those literacy assessments at lower levels should include continuous prose in order to encourage good practice in the teaching of strategies for initial reading.
8. In assessing writing, the use of pictorial stimuli is valuable.
9. In assessing writing emphasis should be placed at what people can do, not at their weaknesses.

(iii) At the level of policy formation, both Hanauer and Brooke *et al's* views concur with the social practices approach pursued by Scottish Government as opposed to the English *Skills for Life* model. In support of Brookes *et al's* recommendations, Sliwka and Tett (2008: 34), for example, point out that in Scotland the social practices approach focuses on the social, emotional and linguistic contexts of people's everyday lives.

Appendix 7 - The 'Wheel': Collective Self-Evaluation





Appendix 8 - Sun Editorial: Eviction Time





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BJ: The writing exercise at Spartans eh... it's really hard to do a writing exercise in a whole group ..; like if you want to do little groups ... little fours em... personally A find it hard to do a writing exercise in a big room where all the talkin' (laughter) ... and A can't really concentrate on what A'm doin'!

JP: Have you got a solution – have you got a way to solve the ...?

BJ: Get another room for some people ...

JP: Cause we've got a feeder room at Spartans if people want ... It's my responsibility to make people aware of that but they supplied a feeder room just right next door ... if people want to ... for the future ... eh maybe worth taking a lead on that Bev and if you want to work on your own or with an individual volunteer or tutor then we can make that available. Here it is a wee bit more difficult ... maybe go round the corner there it's a bit quieter round the corner em...

JG: When we do the SQA work people can go where ever they like.

JP: But we might want to take on Bev's point about the quiet space that's an organisational thing but it's eh ...

JG: The way the SQA will work is that the first half will be just like this – a discussion then everybody has to go and do their own thing, it won't be group work! Because eh... you need to produce your own evidence. A group might be sittin' round a table but they will all be doin' their own individual exercises.

CM: A know its' no always easy – money is always an issue as well – A'd be ... A thought it worked really great wi the Easter Road thing when we had it also at ALP a couple o' year ago wi Merlyn Bell - a wee feeder class that people could do this and the other thing in which it wiz much mare concentrated writing ...

JM: That's the thing in the group –when you start the SQA, that's the thing, when the group's split apart in certain places in here ye'd have tae keep it quiet in groups an' not speak too loud. Not just for one person but for us all!

Appendix 10 - Example of SQA Course Work

Scotland hit all-time low

by Alan Hansen



Scotland gave the worst performance I've seen from them in drawing 2 - 2 with the Faroe Islands.

They did well to come back from 2 - 0 down but the worrying thing is that the Faroes had some great chances to score.

John Petersen, who scored both goals for them, should have made it 3-0 shortly after the break but the ball bobbled and he fired it over the crossbar.

Things are just going from bad to worse for Scotland. They don't have the players and they don't have any confidence after losing five games on the bounce and then drawing this game. And what is so worrying is that there are no young players coming through.

One of the big reasons is that there are too many foreigners playing in the Scottish Premier League.

If you watch an Old Firm game you are lucky if you see three Scottish players on the pitch. That is why you can't blame manager Berti Vogts for the dire state of the Scotland team. He can only work with the players he's got and they are not good enough. But saying that, international management is like club management - it's results that matter, and if they don't improve for Scotland, Vogts will be out of a job.

Questions

1: Who scored the goals for the Faroe Islands?

- ☐ Alan Hansen
 - ☐ John Peterson
 - ☐ Berti Vogts
 - ☐ David Beckham
-

2: What does the story say could happen to Berti Vogts if Scotland's results don't get better?

- ☐ He could lose his job.
 - ☐ He could get a job as an international manager.
 - ☐ He could get a job as a club manager.
 - ☐ He could work in the Scottish Premier League.
-

3: What was the final score in the match?

- ☐ 5-0
 - ☐ 3-0
 - ☐ 2-0
 - ☐ 2 all
-

4: Which of these isn't given as a reason for Scotland playing badly?

- ☐ There are no young players coming through.
 - ☐ The ball was fired over the crossbar.
 - ☐ There are too many foreigners in the Scottish Premier League.
 - ☐ They don't have any confidence.
-

5: Why do the 'Faroe Islands' start with capital letters?

- ☐ The words are at the start of a sentence.
 - ☐ The words are important.
 - ☐ Faroe Islands is the name of a place.
 - ☐ Faroe Islands drew with Scotland.
-

6: What is the name of the punctuation mark in *don't*?

- ☐ speech mark
 - ☐ exclamation mark
 - ☐ apostrophe
 - ☐ comma
-

7: What kind of word is 'young'?

- ☐ adjective
 - ☐ adverb
 - ☐ noun
 - ☐ verb
-

8: What is I've short for?

- ☐ I love
 - ☐ I will have
 - ☐ I should have
 - ☐ I have
-

9: What is *he's* short for in the sentence, 'He can only work with the players *he's* got and they're not good enough'?

- ☐ he is
- ☐ he was
- ☐ he had
- ☐ he has

10: Alan Hansen thinks that the Faroe Islands could have won the match. True or false?

- ☐ true
- ☐ false

Appendix 11 - Example of Participant Observations

1. List of POS carried out

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Participatory Observations (POs)</i> <i>PO number or description</i> | <i>Place/Venue</i> |
|----------------------------|--|---|
| 24 th Feb 09 | P01 | Spartans Football Academy |
| 3 rd March 09 | P02 | Spartans Football Academy |
| 5 th March 09 | P03 | Willie Bauld Suite, Heart of Midlothian Football Club |
| 10 th March 09 | P04 | Spartans Football Academy |
| 12 th March 09 | P05 | Willie Bauld Suite, Heart of Midlothian Football Club |
| 17 th March 09 | P06 | Spartans Football Academy |
| 19 th March 09 | P07 | Willie Bauld Suite, Heart of Midlothian Football Club |
| 24 th March, 09 | P08 | Spartans Football Academy |
| 26 th March 09 | P09 | Willie Bauld Suite, Heart of Midlothian Football Club |
| 31 st March 09 | P010 | Spartans Football Academy |

| | | |
|---------------------------|----------|---|
| 2 nd April 09 | P011 | Willie Bauld Suite, Heart of Midlothian Football Club |
| 7 th April 09 | POCinema | 'Damned United' Fountainpark Cinema |
| 9 th April 09 | P012 | Willie Bauld Suite, Heart of Midlothian Football Club |
| 14 th April 09 | P013 | Spartans Football Academy |
| 16 th April 09 | P014 | Willie Bauld Suite, Heart of Midlothian Football Club |
| 21 st April 09 | P015 | Spartans Football Academy |
| 23 rd April 09 | P016 | Willie Bauld Suite, Heart of Midlothian Football Club |

2. Example PO-Class, 19th March 2009

| Description/notes | Comments/reflections |
|--|---|
| <p>Tonight there were 19 participants and three workers and one volunteer. The constant large group size is a bonus and highlights the G & D programmes continuing ability to retain learners. Tom Purdie who wrote the excellent two books 'Scottish Football: The Golden Years from the Jim Rogers Collection & Inside Scottish Football: Photographs from the Jim Rogers Collection' started the evening in the Executive Suite with a data projector introduction to the work of the photographer Jim Rogers. Before Tom started PA showed me his medal and I asked him to present it to the group later in the evening. Tom then started and Colin and I asked learners to take notes on the clipboards that we supplied. TG was obviously taking notes of Tom's introduction to the greats of Scottish football such as Frank Haffey⁵⁰.</p> | <p>Steven James, describing himself on a roll, seemed to 'thought shower' the learners with a multitude of concepts such as football at the vehicle for both social history and 'population management'. His passionate statement that "Where I get my inspiration is in the Glory and Dismay" must demonstrate the importance on learners' lives of the programme.</p> |

50 Francis Haffey (b. Glasgow, 28 November 1938) was a football goalkeeper for Glasgow's Celtic F.C. and for the Scottish national team.

Haffey, remembered as one of Celtic's great and more eccentric keepers, played more than two hundred matches for his club.

Haffey is most often associated with Scotland's 9-3 loss to England at Wembley in 1961 - giving birth to the gag: 'What's the time? Nearly ten past Haffey'. It would be Haffey's final match for Scotland.

After breaking an ankle in the Glasgow Cup against Partick Thistle in November 1963, effectively ending his Celtic career, he left the following October to play for Swindon Town. Soon thereafter, Haffey moved to Australia, where after a shorter career as a footballer there he found his way into the entertainment business as a cabaret singer.

Haffey made 201 appearances for Celtic. He had 61 clean-sheets. He won two caps for Scotland.

The list of greats from the sixties, seventies and eighties were memorable and the subject of much discussion in the group workshop after the input.

Tom talked about a new presentation he made with pictures of Joe Baker (Turin); Gerry Baker (Hibernian); Jimmy Millar; Jim Cruickshank (now lives in Wester Hailes); Sandy Jardin; Ernie Winchester; Jimmy Greaves; Alex Young (Everton); John White Strips (Tottenham Hotspur); Frank McLintock; Danny Ponton; Ian St John; etc. Tom highlighted the Old Brewery behind the stadium we were in (Tyncastle); the old car park; the lack of health and safety at the grounds prior to the Heysel Stadium and similar disasters. He pointed out Gerrards Yard behind the stadium also and then showed picture of two football greats in the same room we were having the class (Executive Suite) drawing the learner in by asking them where they thought it was. At appropriate points SJ would stand up with autographed strips. Strips autographed by Bert McCann; Jimmy Greaves; Denis Law and other great Scottish football players. John talked, at length, about how the hairs stood up on the back of his neck when he spoke to Denis Law. Tom then showed pictures of the now defunct 3rd Lanark side and in the picture, fans were driving into the ground on a motorcycle. Footballers were smoking and learners pointed out, when asked, the obvious health and safety issues. Both Steven and Tom talked about football as Social History mentioning the fact that at one point the old Hampden Park would attract 147,000 fans for a game. When Tom left early because he had another appointment SJ took centre stage and developed this theme of football as social history engaging other learners in his current investigations into such issues adds the life and times of Bill Shankley; Lanarkshire boys clubs and football cups specific to that area such as the Citizens Cup.

SJ is one of the case studies and the transcription goes into detail what he was confidently saying this particular evening. Importantly, his narrative connected very strongly with two of the women learners and highlighted to him the widespread nature of abusive drunken parents etc.

Critical literacy It would appear that the learner JS is beginning to decode the semiotics of football when he suggests: 'John said that football was a tool used to manage people because after feelings of intense solidarity on the Saturday, when 147,000 fans would turn up for an international game, they would all have to go "Back to the same grind on the Monday".'

Statement cards proving to be a chance for learners to write their evaluative word.

SJ, who kept saying he was on a roll after Tom's input, went on to discuss the players that had come from Bellshill such as Ali McCoist etc. John described growing up in Kirkintilloch, (see transcribe) how his father had coached Kilsyth Rangers, his engagement with Campsey Black Watch etc.

SJ went on to describe how Irn Brue was invented to satisfy the Navvies at Parkhead Forge who previously were fed a liquid diet of alcohol. The Forge was just next to the where Parkhead Stadium was eventually built and its purpose was to produce the girders and iron and metal work for Glasgow Central Station. Mr Barr, the owner of the company who produced the Irn Brue was responsible for the falling death rate amongst Navvies and the Celtic Football team who they played for. SJ said that JFK's first public engagement in Scotland was at Glasgow Central Station (JFK gave his first ever official speech at the Station Manager's office).

SJ then talked about the wider social history that is closely connected to Scottish Football. He mentioned Betsy Semple, his namesake, who chaired the Temperance Society in 1919 which was closely linked to the Labour Movement and the Suffragettes. Steven talked openly about his father coming home from the pub and if he had a Salvation Army paper and chocolates then he could stay up, if not he would get a beating. He argued the Temperance Society was set up mainly by women to counteract this behaviour. SJ talked about how alcohol was prohibited in Kirkintilloch, where he was brought up, and that a Vito Poll is still taken to vote on whether the area becomes 'dry' or 'wet'. SJ said that Mount Vernon in Glasgow was still 'dry'. SJ talked about how prohibition hadn't stopped sectarianism. He mentioned how in 'Kirky' the houses were painted green and his father would paint his own blue.

Some learners such as NT usually writing very little feeling inspired enough to write "BRILLIANT PHOTO SHOW FROM TOM!" Moreover, Fergus K who has to get somebody to write his name on the flipchart also felt enthused enough to write "Very Good Fergus K". This evening 12 learners out of a total of 19, felt confident and committed enough to write up their 'statement card' which, I would argue is an indicator that learners are both enthused and motivated to use the written word with learners who have usually been struggling doing so.

The fact that 189 learners are coming to the Thursday group on a regular basis suggests that this social practice approach to literacies is succeeding and I would propose that this is the biggest regular adult literacy group in Scotland at the present time.

Steven talked extensively about areas like Croy, which were, in his view, Catholic ghettos. Steven said that football was a tool used to manage people because after feelings of intense solidarity on the Saturday, when 147,000 fans would turn up for an international game, they would all have to go "Back to the same grind on the Monday".

"A form of population control" he argued. When concluding his remarks, after Colin reminding him that we had to open up the discussion with written comment to the group, Steven James said "Where I get my inspiration is in the Glory and Dismay."

Colin then facilitated a large group exercise in which he asked learners to describe orally which Tom Purdie's images had struck them the most and why? AMJ said that they took him back to his own yesteryear. "It was social history woven through football stories and pictures". James Gilfillin talked about the time when supporters all passed each other when they were changing at half-time and he talked about his memories of disability cars/vehicles inside football grounds. Annie and Tricia talked about the idea of "football, bookies and boozers" and what Colin describes as the social fabric surrounding football. Tricia said she closely identified with Steven James's description of his father coming home drunk and the fear and in trepidation felt by the family. Tricia said that it was so widespread that sort of behaviour that "it's just what you know?" Karen remembered her family coming home from watching the 1978 World Cup in the pub and that they were "absolutely pished". She remembered as a 7 year old pouring a bottle of whiskey down the toilet to stop them getting drunker. Tricia said that her brother played for Partick Thistle and that football was "part of your identity".

She and others such as AMJ said it was a "Golden era of Scottish Football" and that it was a highpoint compared to the CIS cup last Saturday which Tricia described as a "crap final! The cup on Saturday was crap!" she stated. Steven James said it was part of our oral history as well and that words such as 'meritocracy' that had been introduced last week were not part of our oral tradition.

He talked about hearing oral traditions amongst the Australian Aborigines and "Red Indians" (Native Americans) in his worldly travels and how he felt that they were similar the oral traditions around football in Scotland. I asked did people not think that unless we wrote down our histories we were in danger of a 'history of silence'. Steven said that some peoples felt their history would be corrupted by the written word and that's why some relied on the oral tradition.

Steven James concluded by saying that Jim Rogers, who supplied the photographs for Tom Purdie, had been the "main man" for transfers (transfer of footballers as a commodity) in Scotland.

Tricia concluded by saying that in her parents time it was a big event when 'snugs' were introduced in bars which allowed women to go.

The Glory and Dismay statement cards learners wrote and blue-tacked up on the wall included "Very Good Mike"; "Good Brian"; "Fascinating photos and chat. Brought up memories good and bad."; "Very good pics. G Torres" (TG); "Good"; "Interesting bring back the yester=years?"; "Interesting AMJ"; "A fantastic slideshow Lots of great memories Well done!"; "The course is good so stick to it."; "Nice film I enjoyed yourself a whole lot Dode"; "BRILLIANT PHOTO SHOW FROM TOM!"; "Very good Fergus K".

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>MD reminded us the participants that the film in which he plays the leading role is to be shown at the Omnicentre at 11.00am, 27th March. It's called 'One Life' and it's about "Homelessness, Drugs and Alcohol. MD made a point of searching me out at the end of the evening and saying, with a big smile on his face, how much he had enjoyed it.</p> | |
|--|--|

Appendix 12 – Information Sheet for Service Users / Learners (Interviews)

TITLE OF PROJECT:

Decodification and Literacy Discourses in 'La Societe du Spectacle'

INFORMATION:

John Player is currently investigating the ways in which adult education service users / learners have chosen to become involved in the Glory and Dismay Football Literacies Project at Heart of Midlothian Football Stadium. John Player is interested in learners' educational history; how learners' got on at school; how learners started playing football; what team learners' support and why; what newspapers learners look at; what newspapers they read; what television programmes do learners' watch and do they have access to a computer at home; do learners do texting on the mobile; do learners think the Glory and Dismay, has helped their reading and writing skills in any way.

John Player will ask learners to complete a Basic Skills Agency Level 2 Assessment questionnaire.

John Player is an experienced adult educationalist and community development worker and is undertaking this research as part of EdD studies with the Open University (OU).

The research will involve John Player, the researcher, recording learners reply to a semi-structured interview.

Anything you say to John Player will be CONFIDENTIAL; the study is anonymous with no names ever being used. The information given will be used as data for his EdD dissertation.

If you do agree to be interviewed, please remember that you can stop the interview at any time.

Your agreement would be greatly appreciated. If you have any queries at any time about this study, please contact:

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Appendix 13 - Narrative Analysis

A structure I found useful for identifying narratives at work in learners' utterances, along with Macaulay (2005: 42) and Toolan (2006: 57), is that of Labov and his six part structure (Figure 4.5).

Six Basic Parts of Labov's Oral Narratives of Personal Experience:

1. **Abstract:** What in a nutshell, is this story about?
2. **Orientation:** Who was involved, when and where was this, what *had* happened or *was* happening (in the way of ongoing background)?
3. **Complicating action:** What new thing happened and then what happened after this (recurring)?
4. **Evaluation:** So what? How or why is this interesting?
5. **Resolution:** So what was the final thing that happened?
6. **Coda:** how does this story 'connect' with the speaker, or all of us, here and now?

Toolan (2006: 57) clarifies that 'not all of the above six elements appear in every conversational narrative, and many narratives do without one or more element without being in any way incomplete.' However, Toolan (2006: 57) maintains that 'it's a useful structure to begin making comparisons with, and thinking about what is most central to stories.' I found Labov's framework useful in identifying the centrality of stories in learners' lives.

Not all the features of Labov's definitions are, at the same time, found in learners' talk, although many are. Labov (2006: 37) defines narrative as 'a particular way of reporting past events, in which the order of sequence of independent clauses is interpreted as the order of the events referred to.' Labov then describes the full elaboration of adult narratives of 'personal experience, beginning with an abstract, orientation, an evaluation section embedded in complicating action, a resolution and a coda (Figure 3).'

For Macaulay (2005: 42), the first major work on discourse was Labov's analysis of oral narratives of personal experience (Labov and Waletzky 1967). Macaulay (2005: 42) maintains that 'Labov and Waletzky showed that oral narratives of personal experience has a structure that followed a similar pattern even though there were variations in the ways that speakers followed the pattern.'

Figure 4.6 is an extract taken from semi-structured interview with SJ.

Figure 4.6: Extract from Interview with JS: Embedded Narratives

JP: How did you get interested in football – can you remember?

SJ: Yeah, yeah, A' can remember – talkin' about football A' can remember anythin'! 1953!

JP: So you were born in 1948 so you were 5 then?

SJ: 5 year old an' [1.] *A' can remember the day as if it wiz yesterday. A' wiz goin' doon memory lane wi Kev. It wiz Kilsyth Rangers against Aberdeen Banks o' Dee an' it wiz the Scottish Junior Cup an it wiz the final at Hampden Park an A' wiz there wi ma Da'. Ma Da' wiz a football trainer. He actually trained Kilsyth Rangers.*

In thae days if you call a sponge an' a towel a coach – he wiz a coach. An he used tae run on wi the sponge. An this magic sponge an' thir was nothin' on it A' didnae think. He used to do that em... An' he had an involvement em... in the club.

JP: Did you like your Dad?

SJ: In the end ... *[2] well one day he wiz OK an' then ... well he hud a drink problem. The thing that we used tae dae wiz on a Friday night we used tae sit at the window an' if he had 'The Young Soldier', the Salvation Army paper, an' a box of chocolates we could stay up cause we knew he wiz in a good mood em ... if he cam' roon' the corner an' there wiz nuthin' then we went tae bed cause we got a kickin'. He had the livin' room an' we had to go intae the kitchen an' aw the plates got thrown against the wall an' smashed tae smithereens. But A' wouldnae say it wiz a common thing. A' wud say he had a problem you know.*

JP: What was he like in the morning? Was he embarrassed?

SJ: A' dare say he had resentments aboot whit he had done cause we always had new cutlery but A' dare say when A' wiz older A' wid get him back fir all the hurt he had done. Cause he used to have the big Pit belt hangin' o'r the door as well. Ah mean that wiz the era when if yu done anythin wrong yu got the big Pit belt. On the heed as well! A' used tae try an' fight him back but then *[3] when A' got tae the age of about 18 A' knocked him oot an' a broke his nose*

JP: Is that the reason you left and went to London because of your father's abuse?: P4: Em... well the thing there is ... A' wouldnae say You know don't ... Well it wiz abuse but A' don't know if it wiz a factor in me leavin' ...

A' had tae see other things. JP: Did you make your peace with your father before he died?

SJ: Yeah an' the thing there wiz ... *[4] A' had a row wi him an' A' ended up in a fight wi him an' a broke his nose. An' after that day he never ever drank again an' he looked after ma mother right up to the day he died.*

JP: So that changed his life – you breaking his nose changed his life?

SJ: Don't ask me how it happened. He had drink in the house but he wouldnae touch it. He wiz an alchae (alcoholic) – he couldnae stop ... he wiz a whiskey drinker an' he cud drink maybe a bottle a night. A' didnae even know whit an alcoholic wiz then.

[5] I dunnoe whit happened but that night we had a right fight. A' felt guilty – he felt guilty an' then. An after that night he treated ma mother like she should have been treated years ago. An' it wiz good tae see the two of them goin' intae their twilight years taegether.

Em... ma mother died two or three years ago and ma father died maybe about 7 years ago. He wiz good tae ma kids and A' think that wiz his way of makin' up fir what he done tae us. An' a can relate to that.

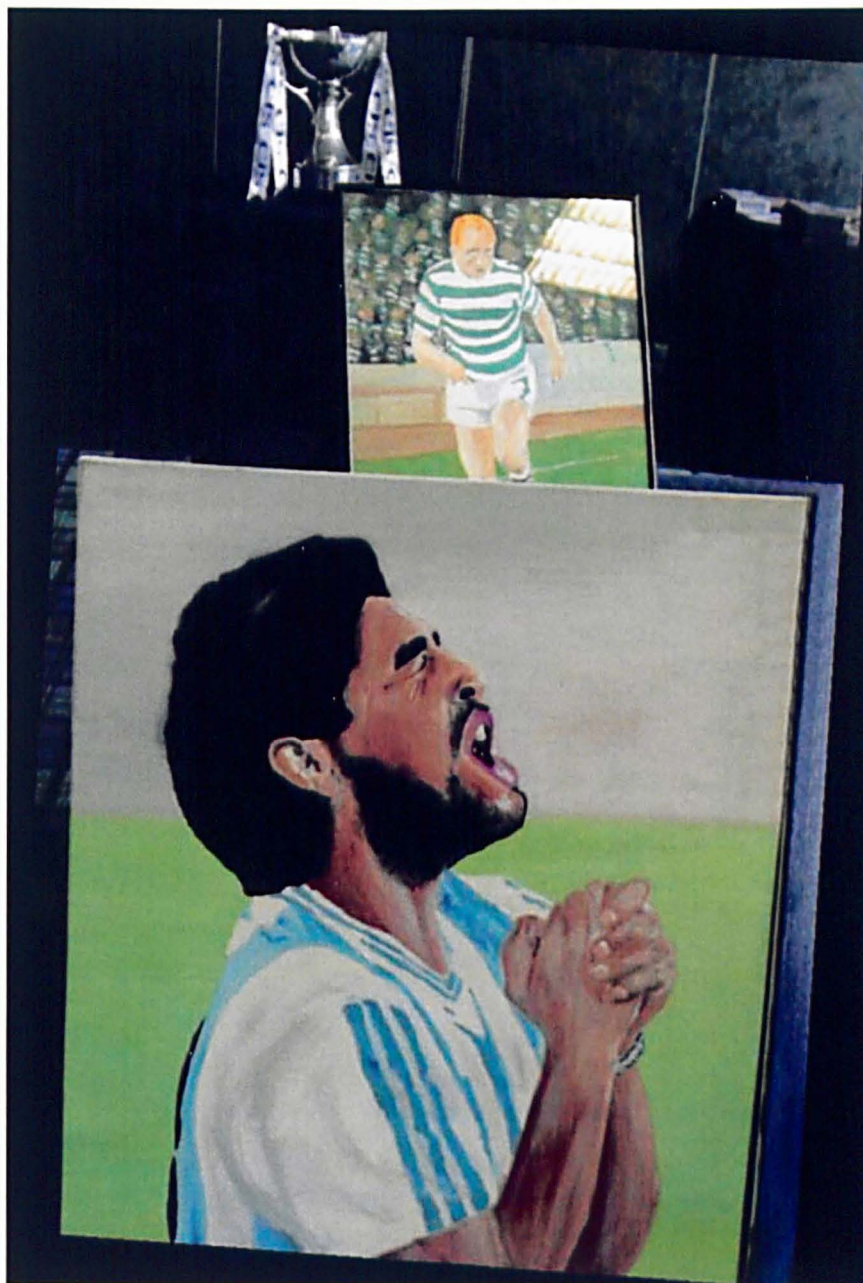
JP: And that been your brothers' ...Did you have brothers John?

SJ: A' have a brother but A' hadnae seen ma brother fir about 20 year due tae the fact o' ma father. *[6] Ma father told ma brother A' didnae want tae see him ever again and em ... no tae get in touch an' he told ma brother exactly the same thing and none of us got in touch until his funeral.* So why did he do that?

JP: What that just the drink do you think?

SJ: Well we tried to work that oot and it maybe jealousy cause we were getting' on in life an he must have felt that he wasnae part o' it.

Appendix 14 - Examples of Steven James's Paintings



Appendix 15 - Example of Fergus Keane's ICT and Literacy Acquisition

This course is about other Glory and Dismay learners telling us about football. None of us are ever too old to learn. Doug (the Development Manager) from Spartans Football Academy was telling us about his life, his passion for football, what makes him what he is today. From Doug I took that football is good for keeping your fitness up to scratch and for bringing people together.

I think he is a genius. He does it for the good of the community. People who do this kind of work know what they are doing. He started from the bottom that is how you do it. You start from scratch and work your way up. He is sharing his skills with us.

I would like to help in the community there. I would like to train some of the young ones. I feel they are very talented and very good. I think that the Spartans can help me to help the kids become more confident and more professional players. Spartans is good because it keeps them off the street. I think the council should listen more to what the young ones say because it is their community.



Appendix 16 – Glossary of Institutional Acronyms

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| ALNIS: | Adult Literacy & Numeracy in Scotland |
| ALP: | Adult Learning Project |
| BSA: | Basic Skills Agency |
| F.C.: | Football Club |
| GDFLP: | Glory and Dismay Football Literacies Programme |
| ITTAL: | Introductory Training in Adult Literacies Learning |
| PFRG: | Paulo Freire Reading Group |
| PO: | Participant Observation Journal |
| SCQF: | Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework |
| SQA: | Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) |